K: Guilford

Earl of Guilford

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THE

JOURNAL

OF A

VOYAGE to LISBON.

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THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE to LISBON,

By the late

HENRY FIELDING, Esq;

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.
MDCCLV.

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DEDICATION

TO THE

PUBLIC.

YOUR candour is desired on the perusal of the following sheets, as they are the product of a genius that has long been your delight and entertainment. It must be acknowledged that a lamp almost burnt out does not give so steady and uniform a light, as when it

it blazes in its full vigour; but yet it is well known that, by its wavering, as if ſtruggling againſt its own diſſolution, it ſometimes darts a ray as bright as ever. In like manner, a ſtrong and lively genius will, in its laſt ſtruggles, ſometimes mount aloft, and throw forth the moſt ſtriking marks of its original luſtre.

WHEREVER theſe are to be found, do you, the genuine patrons of extraordinary capacities, be as liberal in your applauſes of him who is now no more, as you were of him whilſt he was yet amongſt you. And, on the other hand, if in this little work there ſhould appear any traces of a weaken'd and decay'd life, let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture, in that of a hand trembling in almoſt its lateſt hour, of a body emaciated with pains, yet ſtruggling for your entertainment; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart, and call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found in a work begun in pain, and

finiſhed

finiſhed almoſt at the ſame period with life.

It was thought proper, by the friends of the deceaſed, that this little piece ſhould come into your hands as it came from the hands of the author; it being judged that you would be better pleaſed to have an opportunity of obſerving the fainteſt traces of a genius you have long admired, than have it patch'd by a different hand; by which means the marks of its true author might have been effac'd.

That the ſucceſs of this laſt written, tho' firſt publiſhed volume, of the author's poſthumous pieces, may be attended with ſome convenience to thoſe innocents he hath left behind, will, no doubt, be a motive to encourage its circulation through the kingdom, which will engage every future genius to exert itſelf for your pleaſure.

The principles and ſpirit which breathe in every line of the ſmall fragmen

ment begun in anſwer to Lord Bolingbroke will unqueſtionably be a ſufficient apology for its publication, altho' vital ſtrength was wanting to finiſh a work ſo happily begun and ſo well deſigned.

THE

PREFACE.

THERE would not, perhaps, be a more pleaſant, or profitable ſtudy, among thoſe which have their principal end in amuſement, than that of travels or voyages, if they were writ, as they might be, and ought to be, with a joint view to the entertainment and information of mankind. If the converſation of travellers be ſo eagerly ſought after as it is, we may believe their books will be ſtill more agreeable company, as they

will, in general, be more inſtructive and more entertaining.

But when I ſay the converſation of travellers is uſually ſo welcome, I muſt be underſtood to mean that only of ſuch as have had good ſenſe enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper uſe, ſo as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are beſt known by compariſon. If the cuſtoms and manners of men were every where the ſame, there would be no office ſo dull as that of a traveller: for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers; in ſhort, the various views in which we may ſee the face of the earth, would ſcarce afford him a pleaſure worthy of his labour; and ſurely it would give him very little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others.

To make a traveller an agreeable companion to a man of ſenſe, it is neceſſary, not only that he ſhould have ſeen much, but that he ſhould have overlooked much of what he hath ſeen. Nature is not,

any more than a great genius, always admirable in her productions, and therefore the traveller, who may be called her commentator, ſhould not expect to find every where ſubjects worthy of his notice.

It is certain, indeed, that one may be guilty of omiſſion as well as of the oppoſite extreme: but a fault on that ſide will be more eaſily pardoned, as it is better to be hungry than ſurfeited, and to miſs your deſſert at the table of a man whoſe gardens abound with the choiceſt fruits, than to have your taſte affronted with every ſort of traſh that can be pick'd up at the green-ſtall, or the wheel-barrow.

If we ſhould carry on the analogy between the traveller and the commentator, it is impoſſible to keep one's eye a moment off from the laborious much read doctor Zachary Grey, of whoſe redundant notes on Hudibras I ſhall only ſay, that it is, I am confident, the ſingle book extant in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of

which could be found in the collection of the late doctor Mead.

As there are few things which a traveller is to record, there are fewer on which he is to offer his obſervations: this is the office of the reader, and it is ſo pleaſant a one, that he ſeldom chuſes to have it taken from him, under the pretence of lending him aſſiſtance. Some occaſions, indeed, there are, when proper obſervations are pertinent, and others when they are neceſſary; but good ſenſe alone muſt point them out. I ſhall lay down only one general rule, which I believe to be of univerſal truth between relator and hearer, as it is between author and reader; this is, that the latter never forgive any obſervation of the former which doth not convey ſome knowledge that they are ſenſible they could not poſſibly have attained of themſelves.

But all his pains in collecting knowledge, all his judgment in ſelecting, and all his art in communicating it, will not ſuffice, unleſs he can make himſelf, in

ſome

ſome degree, an agreeable, as well as an inſtructive companion. The higheſt inſtruction we can derive from the tedious tale of a dull fellow ſcarce ever pays us for our attention. There is nothing, I think, half ſo valuable as knowledge, and yet there is nothing which men will give themſelves ſo little trouble to attain; unleſs it be, perhaps, that loweſt degree of it which is the object of curioſity, and which hath therefore that active paſſion conſtantly employed in its ſervice. This, indeed, it is in the power of every traveller to gratify; but it is the leading principle in weak minds only.

To render his relation agreeable to the man of ſenſe, it is therefore neceſſary that the voyager ſhould poſſeſs ſeveral eminent and rare talents; ſo rare, indeed, that it is almoſt wonderful to ſee them ever united in the ſame perſon.

And if all theſe talents muſt concur in the relator, they are certainly in a more eminent degree neceſſary to the writer: for here the narration admits

of higher ornaments of ſtile, and every fact and ſentiment offers itſelf to the fulleſt and moſt deliberate examination.

It would appear therefore, I think, ſomewhat ſtrange, if ſuch writers as theſe ſhould be found extremely common; ſince nature hath been a moſt parſimonious diſtributer of her richeſt talents, and hath ſeldom beſtowed many on the ſame perſon. But on the other hand, why there ſhould ſcarce exiſt a ſingle writer of this kind worthy our regard; and whilſt there is no other branch of hiſtory (for this is hiſtory) which hath not exerciſed the greateſt pens, why this alone ſhould be overlooked by all men of great genius and erudition, and delivered up to the Goths and Vandals as their lawful property, is altogether as difficult to determine.

And yet that this is the caſe, with ſome very few exceptions, is moſt manifeſt. Of theſe I ſhall willingly admit Burnet and Addiſon; if the former was not perhaps to be conſidered as a political eſſayiſt, and the latter as a com-

commentator on the claſſics, rather than as a writer of travels; which laſt title perhaps they would both of them have been leaſt ambitious to affect.

INDEED if theſe two, and two or three more, ſhould be removed from the maſs, there would remain ſuch a heap of dulneſs behind, that the appellation of voyage-writer would not appear very deſirable.

I AM not here unapprized that old Homer himſelf is by ſome conſidered as a voyage-writer; and indeed the beginning of his Odyſſy may be urged to countenance that opinion, which I ſhall not controvert. But whatever ſpecies of writing the Odyſſy is of, it is ſurely at the head of that ſpecies, as much as the Iliad is of another; and ſo far the excellent Longinus would allow, I believe, at this day.

BUT, in reality, the Odyſſy, the Telemachus, and all of that kind, are to the voyage-writing I here intend, what romance is to true hiſtory, the former being the confounder and corrupter of

the latter. I am far from ſuppoſing, that Homer, Heſiod, and the other antient poets and mythologiſts, had any ſettled deſign to pervert and confuſe the records of antiquity; but it is certain they have effected it; and, for my part, I muſt confeſs I ſhould have honoured and loved Homer more had he written a true hiſtory of his own times in humble proſe, than thoſe noble poems that have ſo juſtly collected the praiſe of all ages; for though I read theſe with more admiration and aſtoniſhment, I ſtill read Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, with more amuſement and more ſatisfaction.

The original poets were not, however, without excuſe. They found the limits of nature too ſtrait for the immenſity of their genius, which they had not room to exert, without extending fact by fiction; and that eſpecially at a time when the manners of men were too ſimple to afford that variety, which they have ſince offered in vain to the choice of the meaneſt writers.

In

In doing this, they are again excuſable for the manner in which they have done it,

Ut ſpecioſa dehinc miracula promant.

They are not indeed ſo properly ſaid to turn reality into fiction, as fiction into reality. Their paintings are ſo bold, their colours ſo ſtrong, that every thing they touch ſeems to exiſt in the very manner they repreſent it: their portraits are ſo juſt, and their landſcapes ſo beautiful, that we acknowledge the ſtrokes of nature in both, without enquiring whether nature herſelf, or her journeyman the poet, formed the firſt pattern of the piece.

But other writers (I will put Pliny at their head) have no ſuch pretenſions to indulgence: they lye for lying ſake, or in order inſolently to impoſe the moſt monſtrous improbabilities and abſurdities upon their readers on their own authority; treating them as ſome fathers treat children, and as other fathers do lay-men, exacting their belief of what-

ever they relate, on no other foundation than their own authority, without ever taking the pains of adapting their lies to human credulity, and of calculating them for the meridian of a common underſtanding; but with as much weakneſs as wickedneſs, and with more impudence often than either, they aſſert facts contrary to the honour of God, to the viſible order of the creation, to the known laws of nature, to the hiſtories of former ages, and to the experience of our own, and which no man can at once underſtand and believe.

If it ſhould be objected (and it can no where be objected better than where I now write *, as there is no where more pomp of bigotry) that whole nations have been firm believers in ſuch moſt abſurd ſuppoſitions; I reply, the fact is not true. They have known nothing of the matter, and have believed they knew not what. It is, indeed, with me no matter of doubt, but that the pope and his clergy might teach

* At Liſbon.

any

any of thoſe Chriſtian Heterodoxies, the tenets of which are the moſt diametrically oppoſite to their own; nay, all the doctrines of Zoroaſter, Confucius, and Mahomet, not only with certain and immediate ſucceſs, but without one catholick in a thouſand knowing he had changed his religion.

What motive a man can have to ſit down, and to draw forth a liſt of ſtupid, ſenſeleſs, incredible lies upon paper, would be difficult to determine, did not Vanity preſent herſelf ſo immediately as the adequate cauſe. The vanity of knowing more than other men is, perhaps, beſides hunger, the only inducement to writing, at leaſt to publiſhing, at all: why then ſhould not the voyage-writer be inflamed with the glory of having ſeen what no man ever did or will ſee but himſelf? This is the true ſource of the wonderful, in the diſcourſe and writings, and ſometimes, I believe, in the actions of men. There is another fault of a kind directly oppoſite to this, to which theſe writers are

ſometimes liable, when, inſtead of filling their pages with monſters which no body hath ever ſeen, and with adventures which never have nor could poſſibly have happened to them, they waſte their time and paper with recording things and facts of ſo common a kind, that they challenge no other right of being remembered, than as they had the honour of having happened to the author, to whom nothing ſeems trivial that in any manner happens to himſelf. Of ſuch conſequence do his own actions appear to one of this kind, that he would probably think himſelf guilty of infidelity, ſhould he omit the minuteſt thing in the detail of his journal. That the fact is true, is ſufficient to give it a place there, without any conſideration whether it is capable of pleaſing or ſurpriſing, of diverting or informing the reader.

I HAVE ſeen a play (if I miſtake not, it is one of Mrs. Behn's, or of Mrs. Centlivre's) where this vice in a voyage-writer is finely ridiculed. An ignorant pedant,

pedant, to whoſe government, for I know not what reaſon, the conduct of a young nobleman in his travels is committed, and who is ſent abroad to ſhew My Lord the world, of which he knows nothing himſelf, before his departure from a town, calls for his journal, to record the goodneſs of the wine and tobacco, with other articles of the ſame importance, which are to furniſh the materials of a voyage at his return home. The humour, it is true, is here carried very far; and yet, perhaps, very little beyond what is to be found in writers who profeſs no intention of dealing in humour at all.

Of one or other or both of theſe kinds are, I conceive, all that vaſt pile of books which paſs under the names of voyages, travels, adventures, lives, memoirs, hiſtories, &c. ſome of which a ſingle traveller ſends into the world in many volumes, and others are, by judicious bookſellers, collected into vaſt bodies in folio, and inſcribed with their own names, as if they were indeed their

own

own travels; thus unjuſtly attributing to themſelves the merit of others.

Now from both theſe faults we have endeavoured to ſteer clear in the following narrative: which, however the contrary may be inſinuated by ignorant, unlearned, and freſh-water critics, who have never travelled either in books or ſhips, I do ſolemnly declare doth, in my own impartial opinion, deviate leſs from truth than any other voyage extant; my lord Anſon's alone being, perhaps, excepted.

Some few embelliſhments muſt be allowed to every hiſtorian: for we are not to conceive that the ſpeeches in Livy, Salluſt, or Thucydides, were literally ſpoken in the very words in which we now read them. It is ſufficient that every fact hath its foundation in truth, as I do ſeriouſly aver is the caſe in the enſuing pages; and when it is ſo, a good critic will be ſo far from denying all kind of ornament of ſtile or diction, or even of circumſtance to his author, that he would be rather ſorry if he omitted

omitted it: for he could hence derive no other advantage than the loſs of an additional pleaſure in the peruſal.

AGAIN, if any merely common incident ſhould appear in this journal, which will ſeldom, I apprehend, be the caſe, the candid reader will eaſily perceive it is not introduced for its own ſake, but for ſome obſervations and reflections naturally reſulting from it; and which, if but little to his amuſement, tend directly to the inſtruction of the reader, or to the information of the public; to whom if I chuſe to convey ſuch inſtruction or information with an air of joke and laughter, none but the dulleſt of fellows will, I believe, cenſure it; but if they ſhould, I have the authority of more than one paſſage in Horace to alledge in my defence.

HAVING thus endeavoured to obviate ſome cenſures to which a man, without the gift of fore-ſight, or any fear of the imputation of being a conjurer, might conceive this work would be liable, I might now undertake a more

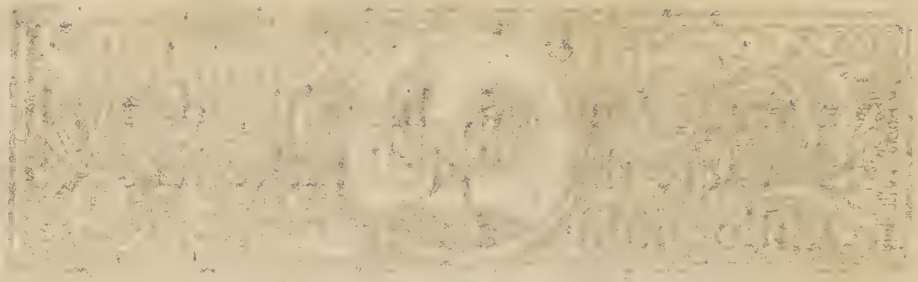
pleaſing

pleaſing taſk, and fall at once to the direct and poſitive praiſes of the work itſelf; of which indeed I could ſay a thouſand good things: but the taſk is ſo very pleaſant that I ſhall leave it wholly to the reader; and it is all the taſk that I impoſe on him. A moderation for which he may think himſelf obliged to me, when he compares it with the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole ſheet with their own praiſes, to which they ſometimes ſet their own real names, and ſometimes a fictitious one. One hint, however, I muſt give the kind reader; which is, that if he ſhould be able to find no ſort of amuſement in the book, he will be pleaſed to remember the public utility which will ariſe from it. If entertainment, as Mr. Richardſon obſerves, be but a ſecondary conſideration in a romance; with which Mr. Addiſon I think agrees, affirming the uſe of the paſtry-cook to be the firſt; if this, I ſay, be true of a mere work of invention, ſure it may well be ſo conſidered

in

in a work founded, like this, on truth; and where the political reflections form ſo diſtinguiſhing a part.

But perhaps I may hear, from ſome critic of the moſt ſaturnine complexion, that my vanity muſt have made a horrid dupe of my judgment, if it hath flattered me with an expectation of having any thing here ſeen in a grave light, or of conveying any uſeful inſtruction to the public, or to their guardians. I anſwer with the great man, whom I juſt now quoted, that my purpoſe is to convey inſtruction in the vehicle of entertainment; and ſo to bring about at once, like the revolution in the rehearſal, a perfect reformation of the laws relating to our maritime affairs: an undertaking, I will not ſay more modeſt, but ſurely more feaſible, than that of reforming a whole people, by making uſe of a vehicular ſtory, to wheel in among them worſe manners than their own.



THE INTRODUCTION.

IN the beginning of Auguſt, 1753, when I had taken the Duke of Portland's medicine, as it is called, near a year, the effects of which had been the carrying off the ſymptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, I was perſuaded by Mr. Ranby, the King's premier ſerjeant-ſurgeon, and the ableſt advice, I believe, in all branches of the phyſical profeſſion, to go immediately to Bath. I accordingly writ that very night to Mrs. Bowden, who, by the next poſt, informed me ſhe had taken me a lodging for a month certain.

WITHIN a few days after this, whilſt I was preparing for my journey, and when

when I was almoſt fatigued to death with ſeveral long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the ſpace of a week, by different gangs of ſtreet robbers, I received a meſſage from his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, by Mr. Carrington, the King's meſſenger, to attend his Grace in Lincoln's-inn-fields, upon ſome buſineſs of importance; with which I immediately complied; when his Grace ſent a gentleman to diſcourſe with me on the beſt plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to thoſe murders and robberies which were every day committed in the ſtreets: upon which, I promiſed to tranſmit my opinion, in writing, to his Grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the privy council.

Tho' this viſit coſt me a ſevere cold, I, notwithſtanding, ſet myſelf down to work, and in about four days ſent the Duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reaſons and arguments I could

could bring to ſupport it, drawn out in ſeveral ſheets of paper; and ſoon received a meſſage from the Duke, by Mr. Carrington, acquainting me, that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

THE principal and moſt material of thoſe terms was the immediately depoſiting 600 l. in my hands; at which ſmall charge I undertook to demoliſh the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into ſuch order, that no ſuch gangs ſhould ever be able, for the future, to form themſelves into bodies, or at leaſt to remain any time formidable to the public.

I HAD delayed my Bath-journey for ſome time, contrary to the repeated advice of my phyſical acquaintance, and to the ardent deſire of my warmeſt friends, tho' my diſtemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which caſe the Bath-waters are generally reputed to be almoſt infallible. But I had the moſt eager deſire of demoliſh-

ing this gang of villains and cut-throats, which I was ſure of accompliſhing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a ſmall ſum, to betray them into the hands of a ſet of thief-takers whom I had enliſted into the ſervice, all men of known and approved fidelity and intrepidity.

AFTER ſome weeks the money was paid at the Treaſury, and within a few days after 200 l. of it had come to my hands the whole gang of cut-throats was entirely diſperſed, ſeven of them were in actual cuſtody, and the reſt driven, ſome out of town, and others out of the kingdom.

THO' my health was now reduced to the laſt extremity, I continued to act with the utmoſt vigour againſt theſe villains; in examining whom, and in taking the depoſitions againſt them, I have often ſpent whole days, nay ſometimes whole nights, eſpecially when there was any difficulty in procuring ſufficient evidence to convict them; which is a very common caſe in ſtreet-robberies, even when

when the guilt of the party is ſufficiently apparent to ſatisfy the moſt tender conſcience. But courts of juſtice know nothing of a cauſe more than what is told them on oath by a witneſs; and the moſt flagitious villain upon earth is tried in the ſame manner as a man of the beſt character, who is accuſed of the ſame crime.

Mean while, amidſt all my fatigues and diſtreſſes, I had the ſatisfaction to find my endeavours had been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that this helliſh ſociety were almoſt utterly extirpated, and that, inſtead of reading of murders and ſtreet-robberies in the news, almoſt every morning, there was, in the remaining part of the month of November, and in all December, not only no ſuch thing as a murder, but not even a ſtreet-robbery committed. Some ſuch, indeed, were mentioned in the public papers; but they were all found, on the ſtricteſt enquiry, to be falſe.

In this entire freedom from ſtreet-robberies, during the dark months, no man

man will, I believe, ſcruple to acknowledge, that the winter of 1753 ſtands unrival'd, during a courſe of many years; and this may poſſibly appear the more extraordinary to thoſe who recollect the outrages with which it began.

HAVING thus fully accompliſhed my undertaking, I went into the country in a very weak and deplorable condition, with no fewer or leſs diſeaſes than a jaundice, a dropſy, and an aſthma, altogether uniting their forces in the deſtruction of a body ſo entirely emaciated, that it had loſt all its muſcular fleſh.

MINE was now no longer what is called a Bath caſe; nor, if it had been ſo, had I ſtrength remaining ſufficient to go thither, a ride of ſix miles only being attended with an intolerable fatigue. I now diſcharged my lodgings at Bath, which I had hitherto kept. I began, in earneſt, to look on my caſe as deſperate, and I had vanity enough to rank myſelf with thoſe heroes who,

of

of old times, became voluntary ſacrifices to the good of the public.

But, leſt the reader ſhould be too eager to catch at the word *vanity*, and ſhould be unwilling to indulge me with ſo ſublime a gratification, for I think he is not too apt to gratify me, I will take my key a pitch lower, and will frankly own that I had a ſtronger motive than the love of the public to puſh me on: I will therefore confeſs to him, that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aſpect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of thoſe ſums which men, who are always ready to plunder both as much as they can, have been pleaſed to ſuſpect me of taking: on the contrary, by compoſing, inſtead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I bluſh when I ſay hath not been univerſally practiſed) and by refuſing to take a ſhilling from a man who moſt undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an in-

come of about 500l.* a year of the dirtieſt money upon earth, to little more than 300l.; a conſiderable proportion of which remained with my clerk; and indeed if the whole had done ſo, as it ought, he would be but ill paid for ſitting

* A predeceſſor of mine uſed to boaſt that he made 1000l. a year in his office: but how he did this, if indeed he did it, is to me a ſecret. His clerk, now mine, told me I had more buſineſs than he had ever known there; I am ſure I had as much as any man could do. The truth is, the fees are ſo very low, when any are due, and ſo much is done for nothing, that if a ſingle juſtice of peace had buſineſs enough to employ twenty clerks, neither he nor they would get much by their labour. The public will not therefore, I hope, think I betray a ſecret when I inform them, that I received from the government a yearly penſion out of the public ſervice-money; which I believe indeed would have been larger, had my great patron been convinced of an error, which I have heard him utter more than once, That he could not indeed ſay, that the acting as a principal juſtice of peace in Weſtminſter was on all accounts very deſirable, but that all the world knew it was a very lucrative office. Now to have ſhewn him plainly, that a man muſt be a rogue to make a very little this way, and that he could not

ting almoſt ſixteen hours in the twenty-four, in the moſt unwholeſome, as well as nauſeous air in the univerſe, and which hath in his caſe corrupted a good conſtitution without contaminating his morals.

But, not to trouble the reader with anecdotes, contrary to my own rule laid down in my preface, I aſſure him I thought my family was very ſlenderly provided for; and that my health began to decline ſo faſt, that I had very little more of life left to accompliſh what I had thought of too late. I rejoiced therefore greatly in ſeeing an opportunity, as I apprehended, of gaining ſuch merit in the eye of the public, that if

not make much by being as great a rogue as he could be, would have required more confidence than I believe he had in me, and more of his converſation than he choſe to allow me; I therefore reſigned the office, and the farther execution of my plan to my brother, who had long been my aſſiſtant. And now, leſt the caſe between me and the reader ſhould be the ſame in both inſtances as it was between me and the great man, I will not add another word on the ſubject.

my life were the ſacrifice to it, my friends might think they did a popular act in putting my family at leaſt beyond the reach of neceſſity, which I myſelf began to deſpair of doing. And tho' I diſclaim all pretence to that Spartan or Roman patriotiſm, which loved the public ſo well that it was always ready to become a voluntary ſacrifice to the public good, I do ſolemnly declare I have that love for my family.

AFTER this conceſſion therefore, that the public was not the principal Deity to which my life was offered a ſacrifice, and when it is farther conſidered what a poor ſacrifice this was, being indeed no other than the giving up what I ſaw little likelihood of being able to hold much longer, and which, upon the terms I held it, nothing but the weakneſs of human nature could repreſent to me as worth holding at all; the world may, I believe, without envy, allow me all the praiſe to which I have any title.

My aim, in fact, was not praiſe, which is the laſt gift they care to beſtow; at leaſt this was not my aim as an end, but rather as a means, of purchaſing ſome moderate proviſion for my family, which, tho' it ſhould exceed my merit, muſt fall infinitely ſhort of my ſervice, if I ſucceeded in my attempt.

To ſay the truth, the public never act more wiſely, than when they act moſt liberally in the diſtribution of their rewards; and here the good they receive is often more to be conſidered than the motive from which they receive it. Example alone is the end of all public puniſhments and rewards. Laws never inflict diſgrace in reſentment, nor confer honour from gratitude. For it is very hard, my lord, ſaid a convicted felon at the bar to the late excellent judge Burnet, to hang a poor man for ſtealing a horſe. You are not to be hanged, Sir, anſwered my ever-honoured and beloved friend, for ſtealing a horſe, but you are to be

hanged that horſes may not be ſtolen. In like manner it might have been ſaid to the late duke of Marlborough, when the parliament was ſo deſervedly liberal to him, after the battle of Blenheim, You receive not theſe honours and bounties on account of a victory paſt, but that other victories may be obtained.

I WAS now, in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of diſorders; and, were I deſirous of playing the advocate, I have an occaſion fair enough: but I diſdain ſuch an attempt. I relate facts plainly and ſimply as they are; and let the world draw from them what concluſions they pleaſe, taking with them the following facts for their inſtruction. The one is, That the proclamation offering 100l. for the apprehending felons for certain felonies committed in certain places, which I prevented from being revived, had formerly coſt the government ſeveral thouſand pounds within a ſingle year. Secondly, That all ſuch proclamations,

inſtead

inſtead of curing the evil, had actually increaſed it; had multiplied the number of robberies; had propagated the worſt and wickedeſt of perjuries; had laid ſnares for youth and ignorance; which, by the temptation of theſe rewards, had been ſometimes drawn into guilt; and ſometimes, which cannot be thought on without the higheſt horror, had deſtroyed them without it. Thirdly, That my plan had not put the government to more than 300l. expence, and had produced none of the ill conſequences above-mentioned; but, laſtly, Had actually ſuppreſſed the evil for a time, and had plainly pointed out the means of ſuppreſſing it for ever. This I would myſelf have undertaken, had my health permitted, at the annual expence of the above-mentioned ſum.

After having ſtood the terrible ſix weeks which ſucceeded laſt Chriſtmas, and put a lucky end, if they had known their own intereſts, to ſuch numbers of aged and infirm valetudinarians, who

might have gaſped through two or three mild winters more, I returned to town in February, in a condition leſs deſpaired of by myſelf than by any of my friends. I now became the patient of Dr. Ward, who wiſhed I had taken his advice earlier.

By his advice I was tapped, and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly. The ſudden relaxation which this cauſed, added to my enervate, emaciated habit of body, ſo weakened me, that within two days I was thought to be falling into the agonies of death.

I was at the worſt on that memorable day when the public loſt Mr. Pelham. From that day I began ſlowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave; till in two months time I had again acquired ſome little degree of ſtrength; but was again full of water.

During this whole time, I took Mr. Ward's medicines, which had ſeldom any perceptible operation. Thoſe

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in particular of the diaphoretic kind, the working of which is thought to require a great ſtrength of conſtitution to ſupport, had ſo little effect on me, that Mr. Ward declared it was as vain to attempt ſweating me as a deal board.

In this ſituation I was tapped a ſecond time. I had one quart of water leſs taken from me now than before; but I bore all the conſequences of the operation much better. This I attributed greatly to a doſe of laudanum preſcribed by my ſurgeon. It firſt gave me the moſt delicious flow of ſpirits, and afterwards as comfortable a nap.

The month of May, which was now begun, it ſeemed reaſonable to expect would introduce the ſpring, and drive off that winter which yet maintained its footing on the ſtage. I reſolved therefore to viſit a little houſe of mine in the country, which ſtands at Ealing, in the county of Middleſex, in the beſt air, I believe, in the whole kingdom, and far ſuperior to that of Kenſington Gravel-

Pits; for the gravel is here much wider and deeper, the place higher and more open towards the ſouth, whilſt it is guarded from the north wind by a ridge of hills, and from the ſmells and ſmoke of London by its diſtance; which laſt is not the fate of Kenſington, when the wind blows from any corner of the eaſt.

Obligations to Mr. Ward I ſhall always confeſs; for I am convinced that he omitted no care in endeavouring to ſerve me, without any expectation or deſire of fee or reward.

The powers of Mr. Ward's remedies want indeed no unfair puffs of mine to give them credit; and tho' this diſtemper of the dropſy ſtands, I believe, firſt in the liſt of thoſe over which he is always certain of triumphing; yet, poſſibly, there might be ſomething particular in my caſe, capable of eluding that radical force which had healed ſo many thouſands. The ſame diſtemper, in different conſtitutions, may poſſibly be attended with ſuch different ſymp-

toms, that to find an infallible noſtrum for the curing any one diſtemper in every patient, may be almoſt as difficult as to find a panacea for the cure of all.

BUT even ſuch a panacea one of the greateſt ſcholars and beſt of men did lately apprehend he had diſcovered. It is true, indeed, he was no phyſician; that is, he had not by the forms of his education acquired a right of applying his ſkill in the art of phyſic to his own private advantage; and yet, perhaps, it may be truly aſſerted, that no other modern hath contributed ſo much to make his phyſical ſkill uſeful to the public; at leaſt, that none hath undergone the pains of communicating this diſcovery in writing to the world. The reader, I think, will ſcarce need to be informed that the writer I mean is the late biſhop of Cloyne, in Ireland, and the diſcovery, that of the virtues of tar-water.

I THEN happened to recollect, upon a hint given me by the inimitable author of

the Female Quixote, that I had many years before, from curioſity only, taken a curſory view of biſhop Berkley's treatiſe on the virtues of tar-water, which I had formerly obſerved he ſtrongly contends to be that real panacea which Sydenham ſuppoſes to have an exiſtence in nature, tho' it yet remains undiſcovered, and, perhaps, will always remain ſo.

Upon the re-peruſal of this book I found the biſhop only aſſerting his opinion, that tar-water might be uſeful in the dropſy, ſince he had known it to have a ſurprizing ſucceſs in the cure of a moſt ſtubborn anaſarca, which is indeed no other than, as the word implies, the dropſy of the fleſh; and this was, at that time, a large part of my complaint.

After a ſhort trial, therefore, of a milk diet, which I preſently found did not ſuit with my caſe, I betook myſelf to the biſhop's preſcription, and doſed myſelf every morning and evening with half a pint of tar-water.

It was no more than three weeks ſince my laſt tapping, and my belly and limbs were diſtended with water. This did not give me the worſe opinion of tar-water: for I never ſuppoſed there could be any ſuch virtue in tar-water, as immediately to carry off a quantity of water already collected. For my delivery from this, I well knew I muſt be again obliged to the trochar; and that if the tar-water did me any good at all, it muſt be only by the ſloweſt degrees; and that if it ſhould ever get the better of my diſtemper, it muſt be by the tedious operation of undermining, and not by a ſudden attack and ſtorm.

Some viſible effects, however, and far beyond what my moſt ſanguine hopes could with any modeſty expect, I very ſoon experienced; the tar-water having, from the very firſt, leſſened my illneſs, increaſed my appetite, and added, though in a very ſlow proportion, to my bodily ſtrength.

But if my ſtrength had increaſed a little, my water daily increaſed much more.

more. So that, by the end of May, my belly became again ripe for the trochar, and I was a third time tapped; upon which two very favourable ſymptoms appeared. I had three quarts of water taken from me leſs than had been taken the laſt time; and I bore the relaxation with much leſs (indeed with ſcarce any) faintneſs.

Those of my phyſical friends, on whoſe judgment I chiefly depended, ſeemed to think my only chance of life conſiſted in having the whole ſummer before me; in which I might hope to gather ſufficient ſtrength to encounter the inclemencies of the enſuing winter. But this chance began daily to leſſen. I ſaw the ſummer mouldering away, or rather, indeed, the year paſſing away without intending to bring on any ſummer at all. In the whole month of May the ſun ſcarce appeared three times. So that the early fruits came to the fulneſs of their growth, and to ſome appearance of ripeneſs, without acquiring any real maturity; having

wanted

wanted the heat of the ſun to ſoften and meliorate their juices. I ſaw the dropſy gaining rather than loſing ground; the diſtance growing ſtill ſhorter between the tappings. I ſaw the aſthma likewiſe beginning again to become more troubleſome. I ſaw the midſummer quarter drawing towards a cloſe. So that I conceived, if the Michaelmas quarter ſhould ſteal off in the ſame manner, as it was, in my opinion, very much to be apprehended it would, I ſhould be delivered up to the attacks of winter, before I recruited my forces, ſo as to be any wiſe able to withſtand them.

I NOW began to recal an intention, which from the firſt dawnings of my recovery I had conceiv'd, of removing to a warmer climate; and finding this to be approv'd of by a very eminent phyſician, I reſolved to put it into immediate execution.

AIX in Provence was the place firſt thought on; but the difficulties of getting thither were inſuperable. The

journey

journey by land, beſide the expence of it, was infinitely too long and fatiguing; and I could hear of no ſhip that was likely to ſet out from London, within any reaſonable time for Marſeilles, or any other port in that part of the Mediterranean.

LISBON was preſently fixed on in its room. The air here, as it was near four degrees to the ſouth of Aix, muſt be more mild and warm, and the winter ſhorter and leſs piercing.

IT was not difficult to find a ſhip bound to a place with which we carry on ſo immenſe a trade. Accordingly, my brother ſoon informed me of the excellent accommodations for paſſengers, which were to be found on board a ſhip that was obliged to ſail for Liſbon in three days.

I EAGERLY embraced the offer, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of the time; and having given my brother full power to contract for our paſſage, I began to prepare my family for the voyage with the utmoſt expedition.

BUT

But our great haſte was needleſs; for the captain having twice put off his ſailing, I at length invited him to dinner with me at Fordhook, a full week after the time on which he had declared, and that with many aſſeverations, he muſt, and would, weigh anchor.

He dined with me, according to his appointment; and when all matters were ſettled between us, left me with poſitive orders to be on board the Wedneſday following; when he declared he would fall down the river to Graveſend; and would not ſtay a moment for the greateſt man in the world.

He adviſed me to go to Graveſend by land, and there wait the arrival of his ſhip; aſſigning many reaſons for this, every one of which was, as I well remember, among thoſe that had before determined me to go on board near the Tower.

THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE to LISBON.

Wedneſday, June 26, 1754.

ON this day, the moſt melancholy ſun I had ever beheld aroſe, and found me awake at my houſe at Fordhook. By the light of this ſun, I was, in my own opinion, laſt to behold and take leave of ſome of thoſe creatures on whom I doated with a mother-like fondneſs, guided by nature and paſſion, and uncured and unhardened by all the doctrine of that philoſophical ſchool

ſchool where I had learnt to bear pains and to deſpiſe death.

In this ſituation, as I could not conquer nature, I ſubmitted entirely to her, and ſhe made as great fool of me as ſhe had ever done of any woman whatſoever: under pretence of giving me leave to enjoy, ſhe drew me in to ſuffer the company of my little ones, during eight hours; and I doubt not whether, in that time, I did not undergo more than in all my diſtemper.

At twelve preciſely my coach was at the door, which was no ſooner told me than I kiſs'd my children round, and went in o it with ſome little reſolution. My wife, who behaved more like a heroine and philoſopher, tho' at the ſame time the tendereſt mother in the world, and my eldeſt daughter, followed me; ſome friends went with us, and others here took their leave; and I heard my behaviour applauded, with many murmurs and praiſes to which

which I well knew I had no title; as all other ſuch philoſophers may, if they have any modeſty, confeſs on the like occaſions.

In two hours we arrived in Redriffe, and immediately went on board, and were to have ſailed the next morning; but as this was the king's proclamation-day, and conſequently a holiday at the Cuſtom-houſe, the captain could not clear his veſſel till the Thurſday; for theſe holidays are as ſtrictly obſerved as thoſe in the popiſh calendar, and are almoſt as numerous. I might add, that both are oppoſite to the genius of trade, and conſequently *contra bonum publicum.*

To go on board the ſhip it was neceſſary firſt to go into a boat; a matter of no ſmall difficulty, as I had no uſe of my limbs, and was to be carried by men, who tho' ſufficiently ſtrong for their burden, were, like Archimedes, puzzled to find a ſteady footing. Of this,

this, as few of my readers have not gone into wherries on the Thames, they will eaſily be able to form to themſelves an idea. However, by the aſſiſtance of my friend Mr. Welch, whom I never think or ſpeak of but with love and eſteem, I conquered this difficulty, as I did afterwards that of aſcending the ſhip, into which I was hoiſted with more eaſe by a chair lifted with pullies. I was ſoon ſeated in a great chair in the cabin, to refreſh myſelf after a fatigue which had been more intolerable, in a quarter of a mile's paſſage from my couch to the ſhip, than I had before undergone in a land-journey of twelve miles, which I had travelled with the utmoſt expedition.

This latter fatigue was, perhaps, ſomewhat heightened by an indignation which I could not prevent ariſing in my mind. I think, upon my entrance into the boat, I preſented a ſpectacle of the higheſt horror. The total loſs of limbs was apparent to all who ſaw me,

me, and my face contained marks of a moſt diſeaſed ſtate, if not of death itſelf. Indeed ſo ghaſtly was my countenance, that timorous women with child had abſtained from my houſe, for fear of the ill conſequences of looking at me. In this condition, I ran the gauntlope, (ſo, I think I may juſtly call it) through rows of ſailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me, by all manner of inſults and jeſts on my miſery. No man who knew me will think I conceived any perſonal reſentment at this behaviour; but it was a lively picture of that cruelty and inhumanity, in the nature of men, which I have often contemplated with concern; and which leads the mind into a train of very uncomfortable and melancholy thoughts. It may be ſaid, that this barbarous cuſtom is peculiar to the Engliſh, and of them only to the loweſt degree; that it is an excreſcence of an uncontroul'd licentiouſneſs miſtaken for liberty, and never ſhews itſelf in men who are poliſh'd

liſh'd and refin'd, in ſuch manner as human nature requires, to produce that perfection of which it is ſuſceptible, and to purge away that malevolence of diſpoſition, of which, at our birth, we partake in common with the ſavage creation.

THIS may be ſaid, and this is all that can be ſaid; and it is, I am afraid, but little ſatisfactory to account for the inhumanity of thoſe, who, while they boaſt of being made after God's own image, ſeem to bear in their minds a reſemblance of the vileſt ſpecies of brutes; or rather, indeed, of our idea of devils: for I don't know that any brutes can be taxed with ſuch malevolence.

A SURLOIN of beef was now placed on the table, for which, tho' little better than carrion, as much was charged by the maſter of the little paltry alehouſe who dreſſed it, as would have been demanded for all the elegance of the

the King's Arms, or any other polite tavern, or eating-houſe; for indeed the difference between the beſt houſe and the worſt is, that at the former you pay largely for luxury, at the latter for nothing.

Thurſday, June 27. THIS morning the captain, who lay on ſhore at his own houſe, paid us a viſit in the cabin; and after having expreſs'd his concern at the impoſſibility of ſailing ſo ſoon as he expected, hoped we would excuſe delay, which he could not foreſee, but aſſured us he would certainly fall down the river on Saturday. This indeed was no ſmall mortification to me; for, beſides the diſagreeable ſituation in which we then lay, in the confines of Wapping and Redriffe, taſting a delicious mixture of the air of both theſe ſweet places, and enjoying the concord of ſweet ſounds of ſeamen, watermen, fiſh-women, oyſter-women, and of all the vociferous inhabitants of both ſhores, compoſing altogether a greater variety

of harmony than Hogarth's imagination hath brought together in that print of his, which is enough to make a man deaf to look at; I had a more urgent cauſe to preſs our departure, which was, that the dropſy, for which I had undergone three tappings, ſeemed to threaten me with a fourth diſcharge before I ſhould reach Liſbon, and when I ſhould have no body on board capable of performing the operation: but I was obliged to hearken to the voice of reaſon, if I may uſe the captain's own words, and to reſt myſelf contented. Indeed there was no alternative within my reach, but what would have coſt me much too dear.

THERE are many evils in ſociety, from which people of the higheſt rank are ſo entirely exempt, that they have not the leaſt knowledge or idea of them; nor indeed of the characters which are formed by them. Such, for inſtance, is the conveyance of goods and paſſengers from one place to another.

ther. Now there is no ſuch thing as any kind of knowledge contemptible in itſelf; and as the particular knowledge I here mean is entirely neceſſary to the well underſtanding and well enjoying this journal; and, laſtly, as in this caſe the moſt ignorant will be thoſe very readers whoſe amuſement we chiefly conſult, and to whom we wiſh to be ſuppoſed principally to write, we will here enter ſomewhat largely into the diſcuſſion of this matter; the rather, for that no antient or modern author (if we can truſt the catalogue of Dr. Mead's library) hath ever undertaken it; but that it ſeems (in the ſtile of Don Quixote) a taſk reſerved for my pen alone.

When I firſt conceived this intention, I began to entertain thoughts of inquiring into the antiquity of travelling: and, as many perſons have performed in this way (I mean have travelled) at the expence of the public, I flattered myſelf that the ſpirit of im-

proving arts and ſciences, and of advancing uſeful and ſubſtantial learning, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes this age, and hath given riſe to more ſpeculative ſocieties in Europe than I at preſent can recollect the names of; perhaps indeed than I or any other, beſides their very near neighbours, ever heard mentioned, would aſſiſt in promoting ſo curious a work: A work! begun with the ſame views, calculated for the ſame purpoſes, and fitted for the ſame uſes, with the labours which thoſe right honourable ſocieties have ſo cheerfully undertaken themſelves, and encouraged in others; ſometimes with the higheſt honours, even with admiſſion into their colleges, and with inrolment among their members.

From theſe ſocieties I promiſed myſelf all aſſiſtance in their power, particularly the communication of ſuch valuable manuſcripts and records as they muſt be ſuppoſed to have collected from thoſe obſcure ages of antiquity, when

hiſtory yields us ſuch imperfect accounts of the reſidence, and much more imperfect, of the travels of the human race; unleſs, perhaps, as a curious and learned member of the young ſociety of antiquarians is ſaid to have hinted his conjectures, that their reſidence and their travels were one and the ſame; and this diſcovery (for ſuch it ſeems to be) he is ſaid to have owed to the lighting by accident on a book, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention preſently, the contents of which were then little known to the ſociety.

The King of Pruſſia, moreover, who, from a degree of benevolence and taſte which in either caſe is a rare production in ſo northern a climate, is the great encourager of art and ſcience, I was well aſſured would promote ſo uſeful a deſign, and order his archives to be ſearched in my behalf.

But, after well weighing all theſe advantages, and much meditation on

the order of my work, my whole design was subverted in a moment, by hearing of the discovery just mentioned to have been made by the young antiquarian, who from the most antient record in the world, (tho' I don't find the society are all agreed in this point) one long preceding the date of the earliest modern collections, either of books or butterflies, none of which pretend to go beyond the flood, shews us, that the first man was a traveller, and that he and his family were scarce settled in Paradise, before they disliked their own home, and became passengers to another place. Hence it appears, that the humour of travelling is as old as the human race, and that it was their curse from the beginning.

By this discovery my plan became much shortened, and I found it only necessary to treat of the conveyance of goods and passengers from place to place; which not being universally known, seemed proper to be explained,

before

before we examined into its original. There are, indeed, two different ways of tracing all things, uſed by the hiſtorian and the antiquary; theſe are upwards, and downwards. The former ſhews you how things are, and leaves to others to diſcover when they began to be ſo. The latter ſhews you how things were, and leaves their preſent exiſtence to be examined by others. Hence the former is more uſeful, the latter more curious. The former receives the thanks of mankind, the latter of that valuable part, the virtuoſi.

In explaining, therefore, this myſtery of carrying goods and paſſengers from one place to another, hitherto ſo profound a ſecret to the very beſt of our readers, we ſhall purſue the hiſtorical method, and endeavour to ſhew by what means it is at preſent performed, referring the more curious enquiry either to ſome other pen, or to ſome other opportunity.

Now there are two general ways of performing (if God permit) this conveyance; viz. by land and water, both of which have much variety; that by land being performed in different vehicles, such as coaches, caravans, waggons, &c. and that by water in ships, barges, and boats, of various sizes and denominations. But as all these methods of conveyance are formed on the same principles, they agree so well together, that it is fully sufficient to comprehend them all in the general view, without descending to such minute particulars as would distinguish one method from another.

Common to all of these is one general principle, that as the goods to be conveyed are usually the larger, so they are to be chiefly considered in the conveyance; the owner being indeed little more than an appendage to his trunk, or box, or bale, or at best a small part of his own baggage, very little care is to be taken in stowing or packing them

up

up with convenience to himself: for the conveyance is not of paſſengers and goods, but of goods and paſſengers.

SECONDLY, From this conveyance ariſes a new kind of relation, or rather of ſubjection in the ſociety; by which the paſſenger becomes bound in allegiance to his conveyer. This allegiance is indeed only temporary and local, but the moſt abſolute during its continuance of any known in Great-Britain, and, to ſay truth, ſcarce conſiſtent with the liberties of a free people; nor could it be reconciled with them, did it not move downwards, a circumſtance univerſally apprehended to be incompatible to all kinds of ſlavery. For Ariſtotle, in his Politicks, hath proved abundantly to my ſatisfaction, that no men are born to be ſlaves, except barbarians; and theſe only to ſuch as are not themſelves barbarians: and indeed Mr. Monteſquieu hath carried it very little farther, in the caſe of the Africans; the real truth being, that

no man is born to be a ſlave, unleſs to him who is able to make him ſo.

THIRDLY, This ſubjection is abſolute, and conſiſts of a perfect reſignation both of body and ſoul to the diſpoſal of another; after which reſignation, during a certain time, his ſubject retains no more power over his own will, than an Aſiatic ſlave, or an Engliſh wife, by the laws of both countries, and by the cuſtoms of one of them. If I ſhould mention the inſtance of a ſtage-coachman, many of my readers would recognize the truth of what I have here obſerved; all indeed, that ever have been under the dominion of that tyrant, who, in this free country, is as abſolute as a Turkiſh Baſhaw. In two particulars only his power is defective; he cannot preſs you into his ſervice, and if you enter yourſelf at one place, on condition of being diſcharged at a certain time at another, he is obliged to perform his agreement, if God permit: but, all the intermediate time, you are abſolutely

abſolutely under his government; he carries you how he will, when he will, and whither he will, provided it be not much out of the road; you have nothing to eat, or to drink, but what, and when, and where he pleaſes. Nay, you cannot ſleep, unleſs he pleaſes you ſhould; for he will order you ſometimes out of bed at midnight, and hurry you away at a moment's warning: indeed, if you can ſleep in his vehicle, he cannot prevent it; nay, indeed, to give him his due, this he is ordinarily diſpoſed to encourage; for the earlier he forces you to riſe in the morning, the more time he will give you in the heat of the day, ſometimes even ſix hours at an alehouſe, or at their doors, where he always gives you the ſame indulgence which he allows himſelf; and for this he is generally very moderate in his demands. I have known a whole bundle of paſſengers charged no more than half a crown for being ſuffered to remain quiet at an alehouſe door, for above a whole hour,

and that even in the hotteſt day in ſummer.

But as this kind of tyranny, tho' it hath eſcaped our political writers, hath been, I think, touched by our dramatic, and is more trite among the generality of readers; and as this and all other kinds of ſuch ſubjection are alike unknown to my friends, I will quit the paſſengers by land, and treat of thoſe who travel by water: for whatever is ſaid on this ſubject is applicable to both alike, and we may bring them together as cloſely as they are brought in the liturgy, when they are recommended to the prayers of all Chriſtian congregations; and (which I have often thought very remarkable) where they are joined with other miſerable wretches, ſuch as, women in labour, people in ſickneſs, infants juſt-born, priſoners and captives.

Goods and paſſengers are conveyed by water in divers vehicles, the principal

cipal of which being a ſhip, it ſhall ſuffice to mention that alone. Here the tyrant doth not derive his title, as the ſtage-coachman doth, from the vehicle itſelf, in which he ſtows his goods and paſſengers, but he is called the captain; a word of ſuch various uſe and uncertain ſignification, that it ſeems very difficult to fix any poſitive idea to it: if indeed there be any general meaning which may comprehend all its different uſes, that of the head, or chief, of any body of men, ſeems to be moſt capable of this comprehenſion; for whether they be a company of ſoldiers, a crew of ſailors, or a gang of rogues, he who is at the head of them is always ſtiled the captain.

The captain, whoſe fortune it was to ſtow us aboard, laid a farther claim to this appellation than the bare command of a vehicle of conveyance. He had been the captain of a privateer, which he looked upon as being in the king's ſervice; and in this capacity he had gained

gained great honour, having diſtinguiſhed his bravery in ſome very warm engagements, for which he had juſtly received public thanks; and from hence he derived a right of hoiſting the military ornament of a cockade over the button of his hat, and of wearing a ſword of no ordinary length.

Now, as I ſaw myſelf in danger from theſe unavoidable delays, and as the wind had been long neſted, as it were, in the ſouth-weſt, where it conſtantly blew hurricanes, I began with great reaſon to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no aſſiſtance was at hand; though, indeed, the captain comforted me with aſſurances, that he had a pretty young fellow on board, who acted as his ſurgeon, as I found he likewiſe did as ſteward, cook, butler, ſailor. In ſhort, he had as many offices as Scrub in the play, and went through them

them all with great dexterity: this of ſurgeon, was, perhaps, the only one in which his ſkill was ſomewhat deficient, at leaſt that branch of tapping for the dropſy; for he very ingenuouſly and modeſtly confeſſed, he had never ſeen the operation performed, nor was poſſeſſed of that chirurgical inſtrument with which it is performed.

Friday, June 28. By way of prevention, therefore, I this day ſent for my friend Mr. Hunter, the great ſurgeon and anatomiſt of Covent-garden; and, though my belly was not yet very full and tight, let out ten quarts of water, the young ſea-ſurgeon attending the operation, not as a performer, but as a ſtudent.

I WAS now eaſed of the greateſt apprehenſion which I had from the length of the paſſage; and I told the captain, I was become indifferent as to the time of his ſailing. He expreſſed much ſatisfaction in this declaration, and at hearing

hearing from me, that I found myſelf, ſince my tapping, much lighter and better. In this, I believe, he was ſincere; for he was, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more than once, a very good-natured man; and as he was a very brave one too, I found that the heroic conſtancy, with which I had born an operation that is attended with ſcarce any degree of pain, had not a little raiſed me in his eſteem. That he might adhere, therefore, in the moſt religious and rigorous manner to his word, he ordered his ſhip to fall down to Graveſend on Sunday morning, and there to wait his arrival.

Sunday, June 30. NOTHING worth notice paſs'd till that morning, when my poor wife, after paſſing a night in the utmoſt torments of the tooth-ach, reſolved to have it drawn. I diſpatched, therefore, a ſervant into Wapping, to bring, in haſte, the beſt toothdrawer he could find. He ſoon found out a female of great eminence in the art; but

but when he brought her to the boat, at the water-ſide, they were informed that the ſhip was gone; for, indeed, ſhe had ſet out a few minutes after his quitting her; nor did the pilot, who well knew the errand on which I had ſent my ſervant, think fit to wait a moment for his return, or to give me any notice of his ſetting out.

But of all the petty baſhaws, or turbulent tyrants I ever beheld, this four-faced pilot was the worſt tempered; for, during the time that he had the guidance of the ſhip, which was till we arrived in the Downs, he complied with no one's deſires, nor did he give a civil word, or, indeed, a civil look to any on board.

The toothdrawer, who, as I ſaid before, was one of great eminence among her neighbours, refuſed to follow the ſhip; ſo that my man made himſelf the beſt of his way, and, with ſome difficulty, came up with us before we were got under full ſail; for, after that,

that, as we had both wind and tide with us, he would have found it impoſſible to overtake the ſhip, till ſhe was come to an anchor at Graveſend.

THE morning was fair and bright, and we had a paſſage thither, I think, as pleaſant as can be conceiv'd; for, take it with all its advantages, particularly the number of fine ſhips you are always ſure of ſeeing by the way, there is nothing to equal it in all the rivers of the world. The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich are noble ſights; and give us a juſt idea of the great perfection to which we are arrived in building thoſe fl ating caſtles, and the figure which we may always make in Europe among the other maritime powers That of Woolwich, at leaſt, very ſtrongly imprinted this idea on my mind; for, there was now on the ſtocks there the Royal Anne, ſuppoſed to be the largeſt ſhip ever built, and which contains ten carriage guns more than had ever yet equipped a firſt rate.

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It is true, perhaps, that there is more of oſtentation than of real utility, in ſhips of this vaſt and unwieldy burthen, which are rarely capable of acting againſt an enemy; but if the building ſuch contributes to preſerve, among other nations, the notion of the Britiſh ſuperiority in naval affairs, the expence, though very great, is well incurred, and the oſtentation is laudable and truly political. Indeed I ſhould be ſorry to allow that Holland, France or Spain, poſſeſſed a veſſel larger and more beautiful than the largeſt and moſt beautiful of ours; for this honour I would always adminiſter to the pride of our ſailors, who ſhould challenge it from all their neighbours with truth and ſucceſs. And ſure I am, that not our honeſt tars alone, but every inhabitant of this iſland, may exult in the compariſon, when he conſiders the king of Great-Britain as a maritime prince, in oppoſition to any other prince in Europe; but I am not ſo certain that the ſame idea of ſuperiority will reſult from comparing our land-

land-forces with thoſe of many other crowned heads. In numbers, they all far exceed us, and in the goodneſs and ſplendor of their troops, many nations, particularly the Germans and French, and perhaps the Dutch, caſt us at a diſtance; for however we may flatter ourſelves with the Edwards and Henrys of former ages, the change of the whole art of war ſince thoſe days, by which the advantage of perſonal ſtrength is, in a manner, entirely loſt, hath produced a change in military affairs to the advantage of our enemies. As for our ſucceſſes in later days, if they were not entirely owing to the ſuperior genius of our general, they were not a little due to the ſuperior force of his money. Indeed, if we ſhould arraign marſhal Saxe of oſtentation, when he ſhewed his army, drawn up, to our captive general, the day after the battle of La Val, we cannot ſay that the oſtentation was entirely vain; ſince he certainly ſhewed him an army, which had not been often equalled, either in

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the number or goodneſs of the troops, and which, in thoſe reſpects, ſo far exceeded ours, that none can ever caſt any reflection on the brave young prince who could not reap the laurels of conqueſt in that day; but his retreat will be always mentioned as an addition to his glory.

In our marine the caſe is entirely the reverſe, and it muſt be our own fault if it doth not continue ſo; for, continue ſo it will, as long as the flouriſhing ſtate of our trade ſhall ſupport it; and this ſupport it can never want, till our legiſlature ſhall ceaſe to give ſufficient attention to the protection of our trade, and our magiſtrates want ſufficient power, ability, and honeſty to execute the laws: a circumſtance not to be apprehended, as it cannot happen, till our ſenates and our benches ſhall be filled with the blindeſt ignorance, or with the blackeſt corruption.

BESIDES the ſhips in the docks, we ſaw many on the water: the yachts are ſights of great parade, and the king's body yacht is, I believe, unequalled in any country, for convenience as well as magnificence; both which are conſulted in building and equipping her with the moſt exquiſite art and workmanſhip.

WE ſaw likewiſe ſeveral Indiamen juſt returned from their voyage. Theſe are, I believe, the largeſt and fineſt veſſels which are any where employed in commercial affairs. The colliers, likewiſe, which are very numerous, and even aſſemble in fleets, are ſhips of great bulk; and, if we deſcend to thoſe uſed in the American, African, and European trades, and paſs through thoſe which viſit our own coaſts, to the ſmall craft that ly between Chatham and the Tower, the whole forms a moſt pleaſing object to the eye, as well as highly warming to the heart of an Engliſhman, who has any degree of love

love for his country, or can recognize any effect of the patriot in his conſtitution.

LASTLY, the Royal Hoſpital of Greenwich, which preſents ſo delightful a front to the water, and doth ſuch honour at once to its builder and the nation, to the great ſkill and ingenuity of the one, and to the no leſs ſenſible gratitude of the other, very properly cloſes the account of this ſcene; which may well appear romantic to thoſe who have not themſelves ſeen, that, in this one inſtance, truth and reality are capable, perhaps, of exceeding the power of fiction.

WHEN we had paſt by Greenwich, we ſaw only two or three gentlemens houſes, all of very moderate account, till we reached Graveſend; theſe are all on the Kentiſh ſhore, which affords a much drier, wholſomer and pleaſanter ſituation, than doth that of its oppoſite, Eſſex. This circumſtance, I own,

is ſomewhat ſurpriſing to me, when I reflect on the numerous villas that crowd the river, from Chelſea upwards as far as Shepperton, where the narrower channel affords not half ſo noble a proſpect, and where the continual ſucceſſion of the ſmall craft, like the frequent repetition of all things, which have nothing in them great, beautiful, or admirable, tire the eye, and give us diſtaſte and averſion inſtead of pleaſure. With ſome of theſe ſituations, ſuch as Barnes, Mortlake, &c. even the ſhore of Eſſex might contend, not upon very unequal terms; but, on the Kentiſh borders, there are many ſpots to be choſen by the builder, which might juſtly claim the preference over almoſt the very fineſt of thoſe in Middleſex and Surry.

How ſhall we account for this depravity in taſte? for, ſurely, there are none ſo very mean and contemptible, as to bring the pleaſure of ſeeing a number of little wherries, gliding along after

ter one another, in competition with what we enjoy, in viewing a ſucceſſion of ſhips, with all their ſails expanded to the winds, bounding over the waves before us.

And here I cannot paſs by another obſervation on the deplorable want of taſte in our enjoyments, which we ſhew by almoſt totally neglecting the purſuit of what ſeems to me the higheſt degree of amuſement: this is, the ſailing ourſelves in little veſſels of our own, contrived only for our eaſe and accommodation, to which ſuch ſituations of our villas, as I have recommended, would be ſo convenient and even neceſſary.

This amuſement, I confeſs, if enjoyed in any perfection, would be of the expenſive kind; but ſuch expence would not exceed the reach of a moderate fortune, and would fall very ſhort of the prices which are daily paid for pleaſures of a far inferior rate. The

truth, I believe, is, that ſailing in the manner I have juſt mentioned, is a pleaſure rather unknown, or unthought of, than rejected by thoſe who have experienced it; unleſs, perhaps, the apprehenſion of danger, or ſea-ſickneſs, may be ſuppoſed, by the timorous and delicate, to make too large deductions; inſiſting, that all their enjoyments ſhall come to them pure and unmixed, and being ever ready to cry out,

---*Nocet emptâ dolore voluptas.*

THIS, however, was my preſent caſe; for the eaſe and lightneſs which I felt from my tapping, the gaiety of the morning, the pleaſant ſailing with wind and tide, and the many agreeable objects with which I was conſtantly entertained during the whole way, were all ſuppreſſed and overcome by the ſingle conſideration of my wife's pain, which continued inceſſantly to torment her till we came to an anchor, when I diſpatched a meſſenger in great haſte, for the beſt reputed operator in Graveſ-

end.

end. A ſurgeon of ſome eminence now appeared, who did not decline tooth-drawing, tho' he certainly would have been offended with the appellation of tooth-drawer, no leſs than his brethren, the members of that venerable body, would be with that of barber, ſince the late ſeparation between thoſe long united companies, by which, if the ſurgeons have gained much, the barbers are ſuppoſed to have loſt very little.

THIS able and careful perſon (for ſo I ſincerely believe he is) after examining the guilty tooth, declared, that it was ſuch a rotten ſhell, and ſo placed at the very remoteſt end of the upper jaw, where it was, in a manner, covered and ſecured by a large, fine, firm tooth, that he deſpaired of his power of drawing it.

HE ſaid, indeed, more to my wife, and uſed more rhetoric to diſſuade her from having it drawn, than is generally

employed to perſuade young ladies, to prefer a pain of three moments to one of three months continuance; eſpecially, if thoſe young ladies happen to be paſt forty or fifty years of age, when, by ſubmitting to ſupport a racking torment, the only good circumſtance attending which is, 'tis ſo ſhort, that ſcarce one in a thouſand can cry out, I feel it, they are to do a violence to their charms, and loſe one of thoſe beautiful holders, with which alone Sir Courtly Nice declares, a lady can ever lay hold of his heart.

He ſaid at laſt ſo much, and ſeemed to reaſon ſo juſtly, that I came over to his ſide, and aſſiſted him in prevailing on my wife (for it was no eaſy matter) to reſolve on keeping her tooth a little longer, and to apply to palliatives only for relief. Theſe were opium applied to the tooth, and bliſters behind the ears.

Whilst we were at dinner this day, in the cabin, on a ſudden the window

on one ſide was beat into the room, with a craſh, as if a twenty-pounder had been diſcharged among us. We were all alarmed at the ſuddenneſs of the accident, for which, however, we were ſoon able to account: for the ſaſh, which was ſhivered all to pieces, was purſued into the middle of the cabin by the boltſprit of a little ſhip, called a cod-ſmack, the maſter of which made us amends for running (careleſly at beſt) againſt us, and injuring the ſhip, in the ſea way; that is to ſay, by damning us all to hell, and uttering ſeveral pious wiſhes that it had done us much more miſchief. All which were anſwered in their own kind and phraſe by our men; between whom, and the other crew, a dialogue of oaths and ſcurrility was carried on, as long as they continued in each other's hearing.

It is difficult, I think, to aſſign a ſatisfactory reaſon why ſailors in general ſhould, of all others, think themſelves entirely diſcharged from the com-

mon bands of humanity, and ſhould ſeem to glory in the language and behaviour of ſavages? They ſee more of the world, and have, moſt of them, a more erudite education, than is the portion of land-men of their degree. Nor do I believe that in any country they viſit (Holland itſelf not excepted) they can ever find a parallel to what daily paſſes on the river Thames. Is it that they think true courage (for they are the braveſt fellows upon earth) inconſiſtent with all the gentleneſs of a humane carriage, and that the contempt of civil order ſprings up in minds but little cultivated at the ſame time, and from the ſame principles, with the contempt of danger and death? It it-----? In ſhort, it is ſo; and how it comes to be ſo, I leave to form a queſtion in the Robin Hood ſociety, or to be propounded for ſolution among the ænigmas in the Woman's Almanack for the next year.

Monday, July 1. This day Mr. Welch took his leave of me after dinner,

ner, as did a young lady of her ſiſter, who was proceeding with my wife to Liſbon. They both ſet out together in a poſt-chaiſe for London.

Soon after their departure, our cabin, where my wife and I were ſitting together, was viſited by two ruffians, whoſe appearance greatly correſponded with that of the ſheriff's, or rather the knight marſhal's bailiffs. One of theſe, eſpecially, who ſeemed to affect a more than ordinary degree of rudeneſs and inſolence, came in without any kind of ceremony, with a broad gold lace on his hat, which was cocked with much military fierceneſs on his head. An inkhorn at his button-hole, and ſome papers in his hand, ſufficiently aſſured me what he was, and I aſked him if he and his companion were not cuſtom-houſe officers; he anſwered with ſufficient dignity, that they were, as an information which he ſeemed to conclude would ſtrike the hearer with awe, and ſuppreſs all further inquiry; but,

on the contrary I proceeded to aſk of what rank he was in the Cuſtom-houſe, and receiving an anſwer from his companion, as I remember, that the gentleman was a riding ſurveyor; I replied that he might be a riding ſurveyor, but could be no gentleman, for that none who had any title to that denomination, would break into the preſence of a lady, without any apology, or even moving his hat. He then took his covering from his head, and laid it on the table, ſaying, he aſked pardon, and blamed the mate, who ſhould, he ſaid, have informed him if any perſons of diſtinction were below. I told him, he might gueſs by our appearance (which, perhaps, was rather more than could be ſaid with the ſtricteſt adherence to truth) that he was before a gentleman and lady, which ſhould teach him to be very civil in his behaviour, tho' we ſhould not happen to be of that number whom the world calls people of faſhion and diſtinction. However, I ſaid, that as he ſeemed ſenſible of his

error, and had aſked pardon, the lady would permit him to put his hat on again, if he choſe it. This he refuſed with ſome degree of ſurlineſs, and failed not to convince me that, if I ſhould condeſcend to become more gentle, he would ſoon grow more rude.

I NOW renewed a reflection, which I have often ſeen occaſion to make, that there is nothing ſo incongruous in nature as any kind of power, with lowneſs of mind and of ability; and that there is nothing more deplorable than the want of truth in the whimſical notion of Plato; who tells us that 'Saturn, well knowing the ſtate of human affairs, gave us kings and rulers, not of human, but divine original: for as we make not ſhepherds of ſheep, nor oxherds of oxen, nor goatherds of goats; but place ſome of our own kind over all, as being better and fitter to govern them: in the ſame manner, were demons by the Divine Love, ſet over us, as a race of beings

'of a ſuperior order to men; and who
'with great eaſe to themſelves, might
'regulate our affairs, and eſtabliſh
'peace, modeſty, freedom and juſtice;
'and, totally deſtroying all ſedition,
'might complete the happineſs of the
'human race. So far, at leaſt, may
'even now be ſaid with truth, that in
'all ſtates which are under the govern-
'ment of mere man, without any di-
'vine aſſiſtance, there is nothing but
'labour and miſery to be found. From
'what I have ſaid, therefore, we may
'at leaſt learn, with our utmoſt endea-
'vours to imitate the Saturnian inſtitu-
'tion; borrowing all aſſiſtance from
'our immortal part, while we pay to
'this the ſtricteſt obedience, we ſhould
'form both our private œconomy, and
'public policy, from its dictates. By
'this diſpenſation of our immortal
'minds, we are to eſtabliſh a law, and
'to call it by that name. But if any
'government be in the hands of a
'ſingle perſon, of the few, or of the
'many; and ſuch governor or gover-

'nors ſhall abandon himſelf or themſelves to the unbridled purſuit of the wildeſt pleaſures or deſires, unable to reſtrain any paſſion, but poſſeſſed with an inſatiable bad diſeaſe; if ſuch ſhall attempt to govern, and at the ſame time to trample on all laws, there can be no means of preſervation left for the wretched people.' *Plato de Leg. lib* 4. *p.* 713. *c.* 714. *edit. Serrani.*

It is true that Plato is here treating of the higheſt or ſovereign power in a ſtate; but it is as true, that his obſervations are general, and may be applied to all inferior powers: and, indeed, every ſubordinate degree is immediately derived from the higheſt; and as it is equally protected by the ſame force, and ſanctified by the ſame authority, is alike dangerous to the well-being of the ſubject.

Of all powers, perhaps, there is none ſo ſanctified and protected, as this which is under our preſent conſiderati-

on. So numerous, indeed, and ſtrong are the ſanctions given to it by many acts of parliament, that having once eſtabliſhed the laws of cuſtoms on merchandize, it ſeems to have been the ſole view of the legiſlature to ſtrengthen the hands, and to protect the perſons of the officers, who became eſtabliſhed by thoſe laws; many of whom are ſo far from bearing any reſemblance to the Saturnian inſtitution, and to be choſen from a degree of beings ſuperior to the reſt of human race, that they ſometimes ſeem induſtriouſly picked out of the loweſt and vileſt orders of mankind.

THERE is, indeed, nothing ſo uſeful to man in general, nor ſo beneficial to particular ſocieties and individuals, as trade. This is that *alma mater*, at whoſe plentiful breaſt all mankind are nouriſhed. It is true, like other parents, ſhe is not always equally indulgent to all her children; but tho' ſhe gives to her favourites a vaſt proportion of redundancy and ſuperfluity, there

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are very few whom ſhe refuſes to ſupply with the conveniencies, and none with the neceſſaries of life.

SUCH a benefactreſs as this muſt naturally be beloved by mankind in general; it would be wonderful, therefore, if her intereſt was not conſidered by them, and protected from the fraud and violence of ſome of her rebellious offſpring, who coveting more than their ſhare, or more than ſhe thinks proper to allow them, are daily employed in meditating miſchief againſt her, and in endeavouring to ſteal from their brethren thoſe ſhares which this great *alma mater* had allowed them.

AT length our Governor came on board, and about ſix in the evening we weighed anchor, and fell down to the Nore, whither our paſſage was extremely pleaſant, the evening being very delightful, the moon juſt paſt the full, and both wind and tide favourable to us.

Tueſday,

Tueſday, July 2. THIS morning we again ſet ſail, under all the advantages we had enjoy'd the evening before: this day we left the ſhore of Eſſex, and coaſted along Kent, paſſing by the pleaſant iſland of Thanet, which is an iſland, and that of Sheppy, which is not an iſland; and about three o'clock, the wind being now full in our teeth, we came to an anchor in the Downs, within two miles of Deal. My wife, having ſuffered intolerable pain from her tooth, again renewed her reſolution of having it drawn, and another ſurgeon was ſent for from Deal, but with no better ſucceſs than the former. He likewiſe declined the operation, for the ſame reaſon which had been aſſigned by the former: however, ſuch was her reſolution, backed with pain, that he was obliged to make the attempt, which concluded more in honour of his judgment, than of his operation; for after having put my poor wife to inexpreſſible torment, he was obliged to leave her

her tooth *in ſtatu quo*; and ſhe had now the comfortable proſpect of a long fit of pain, which might have laſted her her whole voyage, without any poſſibility of relief.

In theſe pleaſing ſenſations, of which I had my juſt ſhare, nature, overcome with fatigue, about eight in the evening reſign'd her to reſt; a circumſtance which would have given me ſome happineſs, could I have known how to employ thoſe ſpirits which were raiſed by it: but unfortunately for me, I was left in a diſpoſition of enjoying an agreeable hour, without the aſſiſtance of a companion, which has always appeared to me neceſſary to ſuch enjoyment; my daughter and her companion were both retired ſea-ſick to bed; the other paſſengers were a rude ſchool-boy of fourteen years old, and an illiterate Portugueſe friar, who underſtood no language but his own, in which I had not the leaſt ſmattering. The captain was the only perſon left, in whoſe converſation

converſation I might indulge myſelf; but unluckily for me, beſides his knowledge being chiefly confined to his profeſſion, he had the misfortune of being ſo deaf, that to make him hear my words, I muſt run the riſque of conveying them to the ears of my wife, who, tho' in another room (called, I think, the ſtate-room; being indeed a moſt ſtately apartment capable of containing one human body in length, if not very tall, and three bodies in breadth) lay aſleep within a yard of me. In this ſituation neceſſity and choice were one and the ſame thing; the captain and I ſat down together to a ſmall bowl of punch, over which we both ſoon fell faſt aſleep, and ſo concluded the evening.

Wedneſday, July 3. THIS morning I awaked at four o'clock, for my diſtemper ſeldom ſuffered me to ſleep later. I preſently got up, and had the pleaſure of enjoying the ſight of what I thought a tempeſtuous ſea for four hours before the captain

captain was ſtirring; for he loved to indulge himſelf in morning ſlumbers, which were attended with a wind muſic, much more agreeable to the performers than to the hearers, eſpecially ſuch as have, as I had, the privilege of ſitting in the orcheſtra. At eight o'clock the captain roſe, and ſent his boat on ſhore. I ordered my man likewiſe to go in it, as my diſtemper was not of that kind which entirely deprives us of appetite. Now tho' the captain had well victualled his ſhip with all manner of ſalt proviſions for the voyage, and had added great quantities of freſh ſtores, particularly of vegetables, at Graveſend, ſuch as beans and peas, which had been on board only two days, and had, poſſibly, not been gathered above two more, I apprehended I could provide better for myſelf at Deal, than the ſhip's ordinary ſeemed to promiſe. I accordingly ſent for freſh proviſions of all kinds from the ſhore, in order to put off the evil day of ſtarving as long as poſſible. My

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man returned with moſt of the articles I ſent for, and I now thought myſelf in a condition of living a week on my own proviſions. I therefore ordered my own dinner, which I wanted nothing but a cook to dreſs, and a proper fire to dreſs it at; but thoſe were not to be had, nor, indeed, any addition to my roaſt mutton, except the pleaſure of the captain's company, with that of the other paſſengers; for my wife continued the whole day in a ſtate of dozing; and my other females, whoſe ſickneſs did not abate by the rolling of the ſhip at anchor, ſeemed more inclined to empty their ſtomachs than to fill them. Thus I paſs'd the whole day (except about an hour at dinner) by myſelf, and the evening concluded with the captain, as the preceding one had done: one comfortable piece of news he communicated to me, which was, that he had no doubt of a proſperous wind in the morning; but as he did not divulge the reaſons of this confidence, and as I ſaw none myſelf, beſides the wind being directly oppoſite,

oppoſite, my faith in this prophecy was not ſtrong enough to build any great hopes upon.

Thurſday, July 4. This morning, however, the captain ſeem'd reſolved to fulfil his own predictions, whether the wind would or no; he accordingly weighed anchor, and taking the advantage of the tide, when the wind was not very boiſterous, he hoiſted his ſails, and, as if his power had been no leſs abſolute over Eolus than it was over Neptune, he forced the wind to blow him on in its own deſpight.

But as all men who have ever been at ſea well know how weak ſuch attempts are, and want no authorities of Scripture to prove, that the moſt abſolute power of a captain of a ſhip is very contemptible in the wind's eye, ſo did it befal our noble commander; who having ſtruggled with the wind three or four hours, was obliged to give over, and loſt, in a few minutes, all that he had

had been ſo long a gaining; in ſhort, we returned to our former ſtation, and once more caſt anchor in the neighbourhood of Deal.

HERE, though we lay near the ſhore, that we might promiſe ourſelves all the emolument which could be derived from it, we found ourſelves deceived, and that we might with as much convenience be out of the ſight of land; for, except when the captain launch'd forth his own boat, which he did always with great reluctance, we were incapable of procuring any thing from Deal, but at a price too exorbitant, and beyond the reach even of modern luxury; the fare of a boat from Deal, which lay at two miles diſtance, being at leaſt three half crowns, and if we had been in any diſtreſs for it, as many half guineas; for theſe good people conſider the ſea as a large common, appendant to their manor, in which when they find any of their fellow creatures impounded, they conclude, that they have a full right of making

making them pay at their own diſcretion for their deliverance: to ſay the truth, whether it be that men, who live on the ſea-ſhore, are of an amphibious kind, and do not entirely partake of human nature, or whatever elſe may be the reaſon, they are ſo far from taking any ſhare in the diſtreſſes of mankind, or of being moved with any compaſſion for them, that they look upon them as bleſſings ſhower'd down from above; and which the more they improve to their own uſe, the greater is their gratitude and piety. Thus at Graveſend, a ſculler requires a ſhilling for going leſs way than he would row in London for three-pence; and, at Deal, a boat often brings more profit in a day, than it can produce in London in a week, or, perhaps, in a month: in both places, the owner of the boat founds his demand on the neceſſity and diſtreſs of one, who ſtands more or leſs in abſolute want of his aſſiſtance; and with the urgency of theſe, always riſes in the exorbitancy of his demand, without

without ever conſidering, that, from theſe very circumſtances, the power or eaſe of gratifying ſuch demand is in like proportion leſſened. Now, as I am unwilling that ſome concluſions, which may be, I am aware, too juſtly drawn from theſe obſervations, ſhould be imputed to human nature in general, I have endeavoured to account for them in a way more conſiſtent with the goodneſs and dignity of that nature: however it be, it ſeems a little to reflect on the governors of ſuch monſters, that they do not take ſome means to reſtrain theſe impoſitions, and prevent them from triumphing any longer in the miſeries of thoſe, who are, in many circumſtances at leaſt, their fellow-creatures, and conſidering the diſtreſſes of a wretched ſeaman, from his being wrecked to his being barely wind-bound, as a bleſſing ſent among them from above, and calling it by that blaſphemous name.

Friday, July 5. THIS day I ſent a ſervant on board a man of war, that was

was ſtationed here, with my compliments to the captain, to repreſent to him the diſtreſs of the ladies, and to deſire the favour of his long-boat to conduct us to Dover, at about ſeven miles diſtance; and, at the ſame time, preſumed to make uſe of a great lady's name, who would, I told him, be pleaſed with any kindneſs ſhewn by him towards us in our miſerable condition. And this I am convinced was true, from the humanity of the lady, though ſhe was entirely unknown to me.

The captain returned a verbal anſwer to a long letter; acquainting me, that what I deſired could not be complied with, it being a favour not in his power to grant. This might be, and I ſuppoſe was true; but it is as true, that if he was able to write, and had pen, ink, and paper aboard, he might have ſent a written anſwer; and that it was the part of a gentleman ſo to have done; but this is a character ſeldom maintained

maintained on the watery element, eſpecially by thoſe who exerciſe any power on it. Every commander of a veſſel here ſeems to think himſelf entirely free from all thoſe rules of decency and civility, which direct and reſtrain the conduct of the members of a ſociety on ſhore; and each, claiming abſolute dominion in his little wooden world, rules by his own laws and his own diſcretion. I do not, indeed, know ſo pregnant an inſtance of the dangerous conſequences of abſolute power, and its aptneſs to intoxicate the mind, as that of thoſe petty tyrants, who become ſuch in a moment, from very well-diſpoſed and ſocial members of that communion, in which they affect no ſuperiority, but live in an orderly ſtate of legal ſubjection with their fellow-citizens.

Saturday, July 6. THIS morning our commander, declaring he was of opinion that the wind would change, he took the advantage of an ebbing tide,

and weighed his anchor. His hopes, however, had the ſame completion, and his endeavours the ſame ſucceſs, with his former trial; and he was ſoon obliged to return once more to his old quarters. Juſt before we let go our anchor, a ſmall ſloop, rather than ſubmit to yield us an inch of way, ran foul of our ſhip, and carried off her bowſprit. This obſtinate frolic would have coſt thoſe aboard the ſloop very dear, if our ſteerſman had not been too generous to exert his ſuperiority, the certain conſequence of which would have been the immediate ſinking of the other. This contention of the inferior, with a might capable of cruſhing it in an inſtant, may ſeem to argue no ſmall ſhare of folly or madneſs, as well as of impudence; but I am convinced there is very little danger in it: contempt is a port to which the pride of man ſubmits to fly with reluctance, but thoſe who are within it are always in a place of the moſt aſſured ſecurity; for whoſoever throws away his ſword, prefers, indeed,

a leſs honourable, but much ſafer means of avoiding danger, than he who defends himſelf with it. And here we ſhall offer another diſtinction, of the truth of which much reading and experience have well convinced us, that as in the moſt abſolute governments, there is a regular progreſſion of ſlavery downwards, from the top to the bottom, the miſchief of which is ſeldom felt with any great force and bitterneſs, but by the next immediate degree; ſo in the moſt diſſolute and anarchical ſtates, there is as regular an aſcent of what is called rank or condition, which is always laying hold of the head of him who is advanced but one ſtep higher on the ladder, who might, if he did not too much deſpiſe ſuch efforts, kick his purſuer headlong to the bottom. We will conclude this digreſſion with one general and ſhort obſervation, which will, perhaps, ſet the whole matter in a clearer light than the longeſt and moſt laboured harangue. Whereas envy of all things moſt expoſes us to danger from

from others; ſo, contempt of all things beſt ſecures us from them. And thus, while the dungcart and the ſloop are always meditating miſchief againſt the coach and the ſhip, and throwing themſelves deſignedly in their way, the latter conſider only their own ſecurity, and are not aſhamed to break the road, and let the other paſs by them.

Monday, July 8. HAVING paſt our Sunday without any thing remarkable, unleſs the catching a great number of whitings in the afternoon may be thought ſo; we now ſet ſail on Monday at ſix o'clock, with a little variation of wind; but this was ſo very little, and the breeze itſelf ſo ſmall, that the tide was our beſt, and, indeed, almoſt our only friend. This conducted us along the ſhort remainder of the Kentiſh ſhore. Here we paſt that cliff of Dover, which makes ſo tremendous a figure in Shakeſpear, and which whoever reads without being giddy, muſt, according to Mr. Addiſon's obſervation, have either

a very good head, or a very bad one; but which whoever contracts any ſuch ideas from the ſight of, muſt have, at leaſt, a poetic, if not a Shakeſpearian genius. In truth, mountains, rivers, heroes, and gods, owe great part of their exiſtence to the poets; and Greece and Italy do ſo plentifully abound in the former, becauſe they furniſhed ſo glorious a number of the latter; who, while they beſtowed immortality on every little hillock and blind ſtream, left the nobleſt rivers and mountains in the world to ſhare the ſame obſcurity with the eaſtern and weſtern poets, in which they are celebrated.

This evening we beat the ſea off Suſſex, in ſight of Dungeneſs, with much more pleaſure than progreſs; for the weather was almoſt a perfect calm, and the moon, which was almoſt at the full, ſcarce ſuffered a ſingle cloud to veil her from our ſight.

Tueſday,

Tueſday, Wedneſday, July 9, 10. THESE two days we had much the ſame fine weather, and made much the ſame way; but, in the evening of the latter day, a pretty freſh gale ſprung up, at N. N. W. which brought us by the morning in ſight of the Iſle of Wight.

Thurſday, July 11. THIS gale continued till towards noon; when the eaſt end of the iſland bore but little a-head of us. The captain, being unwilling to come to anchor, declared he would keep the ſea; but the wind got the better of him, ſo that about three he gave up the victory, and, making a ſudden tack, ſtood in for the ſhore, paſſed by Spithead and Portſmouth, and came to an anchor at a place called Ryde on the iſland; as did a great number of merchant ſhips, who attended our commodore from the Downs, and watched his motions ſo narrowly, that they ſeemed to think themſelves unſafe

when they did not regulate their motions by his.

A MOST tragical incident fell out this day at ſea. While the ſhip was under ſail, but making, as will appear, no great way, a kitten, one of four of the feline inhabitants of the cabin, fell from the window into the water: an alarm was immediately given to the captain, who was then upon deck, and received it with the utmoſt concern. He immediately gave orders to the ſteerſman in favour of the poor thing, as he called it; the ſails were inſtantly ſlackened, and all hands, as the phraſe is, employed to recover the poor animal. I was, I own, extremely ſurpriſed at all this; leſs, indeed, at the captain's extreme tenderneſs, than at his conceiving any poſſibility of ſucceſs; for, if puſs had had nine thouſand, inſtead of nine lives, I concluded they had been all loſt. The boatſwain, however, had more ſanguine hopes; for, having ſtript himſelf of his jacket, breeches, and ſhirt,

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he leapt boldly into the water, and, to my great aſtoniſhment, in a few minutes, returned to the ſhip, bearing the motionleſs animal in his mouth. Nor was this, I obſerved, a matter of ſuch great difficulty as it appeared to my ignorance, and poſſibly may ſeem to that of my freſh-water reader: the kitten was now expoſed to air and ſun on the deck, where its life, of which it retained no ſymptoms, was deſpaired of by all.

The captain's humanity, if I may ſo call it, did not ſo totally deſtroy his philoſophy, as to make him yield himſelf up to affliction on this melancholy occaſion. Having felt his loſs like a man, he reſolved to ſhew he could bear it like one; and, having declared, he had rather have loſt a caſk of rum or brandy, betook himſelf to threſhing at backgammon with the Portugueſe friar, in which innocent amuſement they paſſed their leiſure hours.

BUT as I have, perhaps, a little too wantonly endeavoured to raiſe the tender paſſions of my readers, in this narrative, I ſhould think myſelf unpardonable if I concluded it, without giving them the ſatisfaction of hearing that the kitten at laſt recovered, to the great joy of the good captain; but to the great diſappointment of ſome of the ſailors, who aſſerted, that the drowning a cat was the very ſureſt way of raiſing a favourable wind: a ſuppoſition of which, though we have heard ſeveral plauſible accounts, we will not preſume to aſſign the true original reaſon.

Friday, July 12. THIS day our ladies went a-ſhore at Ryde, and drank their afternoon tea at an alehouſe there with great ſatisfaction: here they were regaled with freſh cream, to which they had been ſtrangers ſince they left the Downs.

Saturday, July 13. THE wind ſeeming likely to continue in the ſame corner,

ner, where it had been almoſt conſtantly for two months together, I was perſuaded by my wife to go aſhore, and ſtay at Ryde till we ſailed. I approved the motion much; for, though I am a great lover of the ſea, I now fancied there was more pleaſure in breathing the freſh air of the land; but, how to get thither was the queſtion: for, being really that deed luggage which I conſidered all paſſengers to be in the beginning of this narrative, and incapable of any bodily motion without external impulſe, it was in vain to leave the ſhip, or to determine to do it, without the aſſiſtance of others. In one inſtance, perhaps, the living luggage is more difficult to be moved, or removed, than an equal or much ſuperior weight of dead matter; which, if of the brittle kind, may indeed be liable to be broken through negligence; but this, by proper care, may be almoſt certainly prevented; whereas the fractures to which the living lumps are expoſed, are ſome-

times by no caution avoidable, and often by no art to be amended.

I was deliberating on the means of conveyance, not ſo much out of the ſhip to the boat, as out of a little tottering boat to the land. A matter which, as I had already experienced in the Thames, was not extremely eaſy, when to be performed by any other limbs than your own. Whilſt I weighed all that could ſuggeſt itſelf on this head, without ſtrictly examining the merit of the ſeveral ſchemes which were advanced by the captain and ſailors, and, indeed, giving no very deep attention even to my wife, who, as well as her friend and my daughter, were exerting their tender concern for my eaſe and ſafety; fortune, for I am convinced ſhe had a hand in it, ſent me a preſent of a buck; a preſent welcome enough of itſelf, but more welcome on account of the veſſel in which it came, being a large hoy, which in ſome places would paſs for a ſhip, and many people would go ſome

miles to ſee the ſight. I was pretty eaſily conveyed on board this hoy, but to get from hence to the ſhore was not ſo eaſy a taſk; for, however ſtrange it may appear, the water itſelf did not extend ſo far; an inſtance which ſeems to explain thoſe lines of Ovid,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque littora Ponto,

in a leſs tautological ſenſe, than hath generally been imputed to them.

In fact, between the ſea and the ſhore, there was, at low water, an impaſſable gulph, if I may ſo call it, of deep mud, which could neither be traverſed by walking nor ſwimming; ſo that for near one half of the twenty-four hours, Ryde was inacceſſable by friend or foe. But as the magiſtrates of this place ſeemed more to deſire the company of the former, than to fear that of the latter, they had begun to make a ſmall cauſeway to the low water mark, ſo that foot paſſengers might land when-

ever they pleaſed; but as this work was of a public kind, and would have coſt a large ſum of money, at leaſt ten pounds, and the magiſtrates, that is to ſay, the church-wardens, the overſeers, conſtable and tithingman, and the principal inhabitants, had every one of them ſome ſeparate ſcheme of private intereſt to advance at the expence of the public, they fell out among themſelves; and after having thrown away one half of the requiſite ſum, reſolved, at leaſt, to ſave the other half, and rather be contented to ſit down loſers themſelves, than to enjoy any benefit which might bring in a greater profit to another. Thus that unanimity, which is ſo neceſſary in all public affairs, became wanting, and every man, from the fear of being a bubble to another, was, in reality, a bubble to himſelf.

HOWEVER, as there is ſcarce any difficulty, to which the ſtrength of men, aſſiſted with the cunning of tart, is not equal, I was at laſt hoiſted into a ſmall

ſmall boat, and being rowed pretty near the ſhore, was taken up by two ſailors, who waded with me through the mud, and placed me in a chair on the land, whence they afterwards conveyed me a quarter of a mile farther, and brought me to a houſe, which ſeemed to bid the faireſt for hoſpitality of any in Ryde.

We brought with us our proviſions from the ſhip, ſo that we wanted nothing but a fire to dreſs our dinner, and a room in which we might eat it. In neither of theſe had we any reaſon to apprehend a diſappointment, our dinner conſiſting only of beans and bacon, and the worſt apartment in his majeſty's dominions being fully ſufficient to anſwer our preſent ideas of delicacy.

Unluckily, however, we were diſappointed in both; for when we arrived about four at our inn, exulting in the hopes of immediately ſeeing our beans ſmoking on the table, we had the

mortification of ſeeing them on the table indeed, but without that circumſtance which would have made the ſight agreeable, being in the ſame ſtate in which we had diſpatched them from our ſhip.

In excuſe for this delay, tho' we had exceeded, almoſt purpoſely, the time appointed, and our proviſion had arrived three hours before, the miſtreſs of the houſe acquainted us, that it was not for want of time to dreſs them that they were not ready, but for fear of their being cold or over-done before we ſhould come; which ſhe aſſured us was much worſe than waiting a few minutes for our dinner. An obſervation ſo very juſt, that it is impoſſible to find any objection in it; but indeed it was not altogether ſo proper at this time: for we had given the moſt abſolute orders to have them ready at four, and had been ourſelves, not without much care and difficulty, moſt exactly punctual in keeping to the very minute

minute of our appointment. But tradeſmen, inn-keepers, and ſervants never care to indulge us in matters contrary to our true intereſt, which they always know better than ourſelves, nor can any bribes corrupt them to go out of their way, whilſt they are conſulting our good in our own deſpight.

Our diſappointment in the other particular, in defiance of our humility, as it was more extraordinary, was more provoking. In ſhort, Mrs. Humphrys no ſooner received the news of our intended arrival, than ſhe conſidered more the gentility than the humanity of her gueſts, and applied herſelf not to that which kindles, but to that which extinguiſhes fire, and forgetting to put on her pot, fell to waſhing her houſe.

As the meſſenger who had brought my veniſon was impatient to be diſpatched, I ordered it to be brought and laid on the table, in the room where

where I was ſeated; and the table not being large enough, one ſide, and that a very bloody one, was laid on the brick floor. I then ordered Mrs. Humphrys to be called in, in order to give her inſtructions concerning it; in particular, what I would have roaſted, and what baked; concluding that ſhe would be highly pleaſed with the proſpect of ſo much money being ſpent in her houſe, as ſhe might have now reaſon to expect, if the wind continued only a few days longer to blow from the ſame points whence it had blown for ſeveral weeks paſt.

I SOON ſaw good cauſe, I muſt confeſs, to deſpiſe my own ſagacity. Mrs. Humphrys having received her orders, without making any anſwer, ſnatched the ſide from the floor, which remained ſtained with blood, and bidding a ſervant take up that on the table, left the room with no pleaſant countenance, muttering to herſelf, that had ſhe known the litter which was to have been

been made, ſhe would not have taken ſuch pains to waſh her houſe that morning. 'If this was gentility, much 'good may it do ſuch gentlefolks, for 'her part ſhe had no notion of it!'

FROM theſe murmurs I received two hints. The one, that it was not from a miſtake of our inclination that the good woman had ſtarved us, but from wiſely conſulting her own dignity, or rather, perhaps, her vanity, to which our hunger was offered up as a ſacrifice. The other, that I was now ſitting in a damp room; a circumſtance, which, tho' it had hitherto eſcaped my notice, from the colour of the bricks, was by no means to be neglected in a valetudinary ſtate.

MY wife, who, beſides diſcharging excellently well her own, and all the tender offices becoming the female character; who beſides being a faithful friend, an amiable companion, and a tender nurſe, could likewiſe ſupply the

the wants of a decrepit huſband, and occaſionally perform his part, had, before this, diſcovered the immoderate attention to neatneſs in Mrs. Humphrys, and provided againſt its ill conſequences. She had found, tho' not under the ſame roof, a very ſnug apartment belonging to Mr. Humphrys, and which had eſcaped the mop, by his wife's being ſatisfied it could not poſſibly be viſited by gentlefolks.

This was a dry, warm, oaken floored barn, lined on both ſides with wheaten ſtraw, and opening at one end into a green field, and a beautiful proſpect. Here, without heſitation, ſhe ordered the cloth to be laid, and came haſtily to ſnatch me from worſe perils by water than the common dangers of the ſea.

Mrs. Humphrys, who could not truſt her own ears, or could not believe a footman in ſo extraordinary a phænomenon, followed my wife, and aſked

aſked her if ſhe had indeed ordered the cloth to be laid in the barn: ſhe anſwered in the affirmative; upon which Mrs. Humphrys declared ſhe would not diſpute her pleaſure, but it was the firſt time, ſhe believed, that quality had ever preferred a barn to a houſe. She ſhewed at the ſame time the moſt pregnant marks of contempt, and again lamented the labour ſhe had undergone, through her ignorance of the abſurd taſte of her gueſts.

AT length we were ſeated in one of the moſt pleaſant ſpots, I believe, in the kingdom, and were regaled with our beans and bacon, in which there was nothing deficient but the quantity. This defect was, however, ſo deplorable, that we had conſumed our whole diſh, before we had viſibly leſſened our hunger. We now waited with impatience the arrival of our ſecond courſe, which neceſſity and not luxury had dictated. This was a joint of mutton, which Mrs. Humphrys had been or-

dered to provide; but when, being tired with expectation, we ordered our servants *to see for something else*, we were informed that there was nothing else; on which Mrs. Humphrys being summoned, declared there was no such thing as mutton to be had at Ryde. When I expressed some astonishment at their having no butcher in a village so situated, she answered they had a very good one, and one that killed all sorts of meat in season, beef two or three times a year, and mutton the whole year round; but that it being then beans and pease time, he killed no meat, by reason he was sure of not selling it. This she had not thought worthy of communication, any more than that there lived a fisherman at next door, who was then provided with plenty of soals, and whitings, and lobsters, far superior to those which adorn a city-feast. This discovery being made by accident, we completed the best, the pleasantest, and the merriest meal, with more appetite more real, solid luxury, and more festivity,

tivity, than was ever ſeen in an entertainment at White's.

It may be wondered at, perhaps, that Mrs. Humphrys ſhould be ſo negligent of providing for her gueſts, as ſhe may ſeem to be thus inattentive to her own intereſt: but this was not the caſe; for having clapt a poll-tax on our heads at our arrival, and determined at what price to diſcharge our bodies from her houſe, the leſs ſhe ſuffered any other to ſhare in the levy, the clearer it came into her own pocket; and it was better to get twelve-pence in a ſhilling than ten-pence, which latter would be the caſe if ſhe afforded us fiſh at any rate.

Thus we paſt a moſt agreeable day, owing to good appetites and good humour; two hearty feeders, which will devour with ſatisfaction whatever food you place before them: whereas, without theſe, the elegance of St. James's, the charde, the Perigord-pye, or the ortolan, the veniſon, the turtle, or the cuſtard,

cuſtard, may titillate the throat, but will never convey happineſs to the heart, or chearfulneſs to the countenance.

As the wind appeared ſtill immoveable, my wife propoſed my lying on ſhore. I preſently agreed, tho' in defiance of an act of parliament, by which perſons wandering abroad, and lodging in alehouſes, are decreed to be rogues and vagabonds; and this too after having been very ſingularly officious in putting that law in execution.

My wife having reconnoitred the houſe, reported, that there was one room in which were two beds. It was concluded, therefore, that ſhe and Harriot ſhould occupy one, and myſelf take poſſeſſion of the other. She added likewiſe an ingenious recommendation of this room, to one who had ſo long been in a cabin, which it exactly reſembled, as it was ſunk down with age on one ſide, and was in the form of a ſhip with gunnels to.

For

For my own part, I make little doubt but this apartment was an ancient temple, built with the materials of a wreck, and, probably, dedicated to Neptune, in honour of THE BLESSING ſent by him to the inhabitants, ſuch bleſſings having, in all ages, been very common to them. The timber employed in it confirms this opinion, being ſuch as is ſeldom uſed by any but ſhip-builders. I do not find, indeed, any mention of this matter in Hern; but, perhaps, its antiquity was too modern to deſerve his notice. Certain it is, that this iſland of Wight was not an early convert to Chriſtianity; nay, there is ſome reaſon to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted. But I have only time to touch ſlightly on things of this kind, which, luckily for us, we have a ſociety whoſe peculiar profeſſion it is to diſcuſs and develope.

Sunday, July 19. This morning early I ſummoned Mrs. Humphrys, in

in order to pay her the preceding day's account. As I could recollect only two or three articles, I thought there was no neceſſity of pen and ink. In a ſingle inſtance only we had exceeded what the law allows gratis to a foot ſoldier on his march, viz. vinegar, ſalt, &c. and dreſſing his meat. I found, however, I was miſtaken in my calculation; for when the good woman attended with her bill, it contained as follow.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Bread and beer - -	0	2	4
Wind - - -	0	2	0
Rum - - -	0	2	0
Dreſſing dinner -	0	3	0
Tea - - -	0	1	6
Firing - -	0	1	0
Lodging - -	0	1	6
Servants lodging - -	0	0	6
	£ 0	13	10

Now

Now that five people, and two ſervants, ſhould live a day and night at a public houſe for ſo ſmall a ſum, will appear incredible to any perſon in London above the degree of a chimney-ſweeper; but more aſtoniſhing will it ſeem, that theſe people ſhould remain ſo long at ſuch a houſe, without taſting any other delicacy than bread, ſmall beer, a tea cup full of milk called cream, a glaſs of rum converted into punch by their own materials, and one bottle of *wind*, of which we only taſted a ſingle glaſs, tho' poſſibly, indeed, our ſervants drank the remainder of the bottle.

THIS *wind* is a liquor of Engliſh manufacture, and its flavour is thought very delicious by the generality of the Engliſh, who drink it in great quantities. Every ſeventh year is thought to produce as much as the other ſix. It is then drank ſo plentifully, that the whole nation are in a manner intoxicated by it, and conſequently very little buſineſs is carried on at that ſeaſon.

It reſembles in colour the red wine which is imported from Portugal, as it doth in its intoxicating quality; hence, and from this agreement in the orthography, the one is often confounded with the other, tho' both are ſeldom eſteemed by the ſame perſon. It is to be had in every pariſh in the kingdom, and a pretty large quantity is conſumed in the metropolis, where ſeveral taverns are ſet apart ſolely for the vendition of this liquor, the maſters never dealing in any other.

The diſagreement in our computation produced ſome ſmall remonſtrance to Mrs. Humphrys on my ſide; but this received an immediate anſwer, 'She ſcorned to overcharge gentlemen: 'her houſe had been always frequented 'by the very beſt gentry of the iſland; 'and ſhe had never had a bill found 'fault with in her life, tho' ſhe had 'lived upwards of forty years in the 'houſe, and within that time the 'greateſt

'greateſt gentry in Hampſhire had been 'at it, and that Lawyer Willis never 'went to any other, when he came to 'thoſe parts. That for her part ſhe 'did not get her livelihood by travellers, 'who were gone and away, and ſhe 'never expected to ſee them more, but 'that her neighbours might come again; 'wherefore, to be ſure, they had the 'only right to complain.'

She was proceeding thus, and from her volubility of tongue ſeemed likely to ſtretch the diſcourſe to an immoderate length, when I ſuddenly cut all ſhort by paying the bill.

This morning our ladies went to church, more, I fear, from curioſity than religion; they were attended by the captain in a moſt military attire, with his cockade in his hat, and his ſword by his ſide. So unuſual an appearance in this little chappel drew the attention of all preſent, and probably diſconcerted the women, who were in

diſhabille, and wiſhed themſelves dreſt, for the ſake of the curate, who was the greateſt of their beholders.

WHILE I was left alone, I received a viſit from Mr. Humphrys himſelf, who was much more conſiderable as a farmer, than as an innholder. Indeed he left the latter entirely to the care of his wife, and he acted wiſely, I believe, in ſo doing.

As nothing more remarkable paſt on this day, I will cloſe it with the account of theſe two characters, as far as a few days reſidence could inform me of them. If they ſhould appear as new to the reader as they did to me, he will not be diſpleaſed at finding them here.

THIS amiable couple ſeemed to border hard on their grand climacteric; nor indeed were they ſhy of owning enough to fix their ages within a year or two of that time. They appeared to be rather proud of having employed their time well,

well, than aſhamed of having lived ſo long; the only reaſon which I could ever aſſign, why ſome fine ladies, and fine gentlemen too, ſhould deſire to be thought younger than they really are by the cotemporaries of their grandchildren. Some, indeed, who too haſtily credit appearances, might doubt whether they had made ſo good a uſe of their time as I would inſinuate, ſince there was no appearance of any thing but poverty, want, and wretchedneſs about their houſe; nor could they produce any thing to a cuſtomer in exchange for his money, but a few bottles of *wind*, and ſpirituous liquors, and ſome very bad ale, to drink; with ruſty bacon, and worſe cheeſe, to eat. But then it ſhould be conſidered, on the other ſide, that whatever they received was almoſt as entirely clear profit as the bleſſing of a wreck itſelf; ſuch an inn being the very reverſe of a coffee-houſe: for here you can neither ſit for nothing, nor have any thing for your money.

AGAIN, as many marks of want abounded everywhere, ſo were the marks of antiquity viſible. Scarce any thing was to be ſeen which had not ſome ſcar upon it, made by the hand of time; not an utenſil, it was manifeſt, had been purchaſed within a dozen years laſt paſt; ſo that whatever money had come into the houſe during that period, at leaſt, muſt have remained in it, unleſs it had been ſent abroad for food, or other periſhable commodities; but theſe were ſupplied by a ſmall portion of the fruits of the farm, in which the farmer allowed he had a very good bargain. In fact, it is inconceivable what ſums may be collected by ſtarving only, and how eaſy it is for a man to die rich, if he will but be contented to live miſerable.

NOR is there in this kind of ſtarving any thing ſo terrible as ſome apprehend. It neither waſtes a man's fleſh, nor robs him of his chearfulneſs. The famous Cornaro's caſe well proves the contrary; and ſo did farmer Humphrys, who

was of a round ſtature, had a plump round face, with a kind of ſmile on it, and ſeemed to borrow an air of wretchedneſs, rather from his coat's age, than from his own.

THE truth is, there is a certain diet which emaciates men more than any poſſible degree of abſtinence; tho' I do not remember to have ſeen any caution againſt it, either in Cheney, Arbuthnot, or in any other modern writer on regimen. Nay, the very name is not, I believe, in the learned Dr. James's dictionary. All which is the more extraordinary, as it is a very common food in this kingdom.

BUT though it ſhould not be found among our Engliſh phyſical writers, we may be aſſured of meeting with it among the Greeks: for nothing conſiderable in nature eſcapes their notice; though many things conſiderable in them, it is to be feared, have eſcaped the notice of their readers. The Greeks then, to all ſuch

as feed too voraciously on this diet, give the name of HEAUTOFAGI, which our physicians will, I suppose, translate men that eat themselves.

As nothing is so destructive to the body as this kind of food, so nothing is so plentiful and cheap; but it was, perhaps, the only cheap thing the farmer disliked. Probably living much on fish might produce this disgust; for Diodorus Siculus attributes the same aversion in a people of Æthiopia to the same cause: he calls them the fish-eaters; and asserts, that they cannot be brought to eat a single meal with the Heautofagi by any persuasion, threat, or violence whatever, not even though they should kill their children before their faces.

WHAT hath puzzled our physicians, and prevented them from setting this matter in the clearest light, is possibly one simple mistake, arising from a very excusable ignorance, that the passions

of

of men are capable of ſwallowing food as well as their appetites; that the former, in feeding, reſemble the ſtate of thoſe animals who chew the cud; and therefore ſuch men, in ſome ſenſe, may be ſaid to prey on themſelves, and as it were, to devour their own entrails. And hence enſues a meagre aſpect, and thin habit of body, as ſurely as from what is called a conſumption.

Our farmer was none of theſe. He had no more paſſion than an Ichthuofagus or Ethiopian fiſher. He wiſhed not for any thing, thought not of any thing; indeed, he ſcarce did any thing, or ſaid any thing. Here I cannot be underſtood ſtrictly, for then I muſt deſcribe a non-entity; whereas I would rob him of nothing but that free-agency which is the cauſe of all the corruption, and of all the miſery of human nature. No man, indeed, ever did more than the farmer, for he was an abſolute ſlave to labour all the week; but, in truth, as my ſagacious reader muſt have at

firſt apprehended, when I ſaid, he reſigned the care of the houſe to his wife, I meant more than I then expreſſed; even the houſe and all that belonged to it; for he was really a farmer, only under the direction of his wife. In a word, ſo compoſed, ſo ſerene, ſo placid a countenance I never ſaw; and he ſatisfied himſelf by anſwering to every queſtion he was aſked; "I don't know "any thing about it, ſir, I leaves all "that to my wife."

Now as a couple of this kind would, like two veſſels of oil, have made no compoſition in life, and for want of all ſavour muſt have palled every taſte; nature, or fortune, or both of them, took care to provide a proper quantity of acid, in the materials that formed the wife, and to render her a perfect *Helpmate* for ſo tranquil a huſband. She abounded in whatſoever he was defective; that is to ſay, in almoſt every thing. She was, indeed, as vinegar to oil, or a briſk wind to a ſtanding-pool, and

and preſerved all from ſtagnation and corruption.

QUIN the player, on taking a nice and ſevere ſurvey of a fellow-comedian, burſt forth into this exclamation, "If "if that fellow be not a rogue, the "Creator doth not write a legible "hand." Whether he gueſſed right or no, is not worth my while to examine. Certain it is, that the latter, having wrought his features into a proper harmony to become the characters of Iago, Shylock, and others of the ſame caſt, gave a ſemblance of truth to the obſervation, that was ſufficient to confirm the wit of it. Indeed, we may remark, in favour of the phyſiognomiſt, though the law hath made him a rogue and vagabond, that nature is ſeldom curious in her work within, without employing ſome little pains on the outſide; and this more particularly in miſchievous characters, in forming which, as Mr. Derham obſerves, in venomous inſects, as the ſting or ſaw of a waſp,

ſhe is ſometimes wonderfully induſtrious. Now, when ſhe hath thus completely armed her hero, to carry on a war with man, ſhe never fails of furniſhing that innocent lambkin with ſome means of knowing his enemy, and foreſeeing his deſigns. Thus ſhe hath been obſerved to act in the caſe of a rattle-ſnake, which never meditates a human prey without giving warning of his approach.

This obſervation will, I am convinced, hold moſt true, if applied to the moſt venomous individuals of human inſects. A tyrant, a trickſter, and a bully, generally wear the marks of their ſeveral diſpoſitions in their countenances; ſo do the vixen, the ſhrew, the ſcold, and all other females of the like kind. But, perhaps, nature had never afforded a ſtronger example of all this, than in the caſe of Mrs. Humphrys. She was a ſhort, ſquat woman; her head was cloſely joined to her ſhoulders, where it was fixed ſomewhat awry;

awry; every feature of her countenance was ſharp and pointed; her face was furrowed with the ſmall-pox; and her complexion, which ſeemed to be able to turn milk to curds, not a little reſembled in colour ſuch milk as had already undergone that operation. She appeared indeed to have many ſymptoms of a deep jaundice in her look; but the ſtrength and firmneſs of her voice over-balanced them all: the tone of this was a ſharp treble at a diſtance; for, I ſeldom heard it on the ſame fl or; but was uſually waked with it in the morning, and entertained with it almoſt continually through the whole day.

Though vocal be uſually put in oppoſition to inſtrumental muſic, I queſtion whether this might not be thought to partake of the nature of both; for ſhe played on two inſtruments, which ſhe ſeemed to keep for no other uſe from morning till night; theſe were two maids, or rather ſcolding-

ing-ſtocks, who, I ſuppoſe, by ſome means or other, earned their board, and ſhe gave them their lodging gratis, or for no other ſervice than to keep her lungs in conſtant exerciſe.

She differed, as I have ſaid, in every particular from her huſband; but very remarkably in this, that as it was impoſſible to diſpleaſe him, ſo it was as impoſſible to pleaſe her; and as no art could remove a ſmile from his countenance, ſo could no art carry it into hers. If her bills were remonſtrated againſt, ſhe was offended with the cenſure of her fair-dealing; if they were not, ſhe ſeemed to regard it as a tacit ſarcaſm on her folly, which might have ſet down larger prices with the ſame ſucceſs. On this latter hint ſhe did indeed improve; for ſhe daily raiſed ſome of her articles. A pennyworth of fire was to-day rated at a ſhilling, to-morrow at eighteenpence; and if ſhe dreſt us two diſhes for two ſhillings on Saturday, we paid half a crown for the cookery of one on the

the Sunday; and wherever ſhe was paid, ſhe never left the room without lamenting the ſmall amount of her bill; ſaying, ſhe knew not how it was that others got their money by gentlefolks, but, for her part, ſhe had not the art of it. When ſhe was aſked why ſhe complained, when ſhe was paid all ſhe demanded, ſhe anſwered, ſhe could not deny that, nor did ſhe know ſhe omitted any thing, but that it was but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.

I ACCOUNTED for all this by her having heard, that it is a maxim with the principal inn-holders on the continent, to levy conſiderable ſums on their gueſts, who travel with many horſes and ſervants, though ſuch gueſts ſhould eat little or nothing in their houſes; the method being, I believe, in ſuch caſes, to lay a capitation on the horſes, and not on their maſters. But ſhe did not conſider, that in moſt of theſe inns a very great degree of hunger, without any degree of delicacy, may be ſatisfied;

and that in all ſuch inns there is ſome appearance, at leaſt, of proviſion, as well as of a man cook to dreſs it, one of the hoſtlers being always furniſhed with a cook's cap, waiſtcoat and apron, ready to attend gentlemen and ladies on their ſummons; that the caſe therefore of ſuch inns differed from hers, where there was nothing to eat or to drink; and in reality no houſe to inhabit, no chair to ſit upon, nor any bed to lie in; that one third or fourth part therefore of the levy impoſed at inns was, in truth, a higher tax than the whole was when laid on in the other, where, in order to raiſe a ſmall ſum, a man is obliged to ſubmit to pay as many various ways for the ſame thing as he doth a taylor's bill, ſuch are the articles of bread and beer, firing, eating, and dreſſing dinner.

The foregoing is a very imperfect ſketch of this extraordinary couple; for every thing is here lowered, inſtead of being heightened. Thoſe who would

ſee them ſet forth in more lively colours, and with the proper ornaments, may read the deſcriptions of the furies in ſome of the claſſical poets, or of the ſtoic philoſophers in the works of Lucian.

Monday, July 20. THIS day nothing remarkable paſſed; Mrs. Humphrys levied a tax of fourteen ſhillings for the Sunday. We regaled ourſelves at dinner with veniſon and good claret of our own; and, in the afternoon, the women, attended by the captain, walked to ſee a delightful ſcene two miles diſtant, with the beauties of which they declared themſelves moſt highly charmed, at their return, as well as with the goodneſs of the lady of the manſion, who had ſlipt out of the way, that my wife and her company might refreſh themſelves with the flowers and fruits with which her garden abounded.

Tueſday, July 21. THIS day, having paid our taxes of yeſterday, we were permitted

permitted to regale ourſelves with more veniſon. Some of this we would willingly have exchanged for mutton; but no ſuch fleſh was to be had nearer than Portſmouth, from whence it would have coſt more to convey a joint to us, than the freight of a Portugal ham from Liſbon to London amounts to: for tho' the water-carriage be ſomewhat cheaper here than at Deal, yet can you find no waterman who will go on board his boat, unleſs by two or three hours rowing he can get drunk for the reſidue of the week.

And here I have an opportunity, which poſſibly may not offer again, of publiſhing ſome obſervations on that political œconomy of this nation, which, as it concerns only the regulation of the mob, is below the notice of our great men; tho', on the due regulation of this order depend many emoluments which the great men themſelves, or, at leaſt, many who tread cloſe on their heels, may enjoy, as well as ſome dangers,

gers, which may ſome time or other ariſe from introducing a pure ſtate of anarchy among them. I will repreſent the caſe as it appears to me, very fairly and impartially, between the mob and their betters.

The whole miſchief which infects this part of our œconomy, ariſes from the vague and uncertain uſe of a word called Liberty, of which, as ſcarce any two men with whom I have ever converſed, ſeem to have one and the ſame idea, I am inclined to doubt whether there be any ſimple univerſal notion repreſented by this word, or whether it conveys any clearer or more determinate idea, than ſome of thoſe old Punic compoſitions of ſyllables, preſerved in one of the comedies of Plautus, but at preſent, as I conceive, not ſuppoſed to be underſtood by any one.

By liberty, however, I apprehend, is commonly underſtood the power of doing what we pleaſe: not abſolutely; for

for then it would be inconſiſtent with law, by whoſe controul the liberty of the freeſt people, except only the Hottentots and wild Indians, muſt always be reſtrained.

But, indeed, however largely we extend, or however moderately we confine the ſenſe of the word, no politician will, I preſume, contend that it is to pervade in an equal degree, and be with the ſame extent enjoyed by every member of ſociety; no ſuch polity having been ever found, unleſs among thoſe vile people juſt before commemorated. Among the Greeks and Romans, the ſervile and free conditions were oppoſed to each other; and no man who had the misfortune to be enrolled under the former, could lay any claim to liberty, 'till the right was conveyed to him by that maſter whoſe ſlave he was, either by the means of conqueſt, of purchaſe, or of birth.

This

THIS was the ſtate of all the free nations in the world; and this, 'till very lately, was underſtood to be the caſe of our own.

I WILL not indeed ſay this is the caſe at preſent, the loweſt claſs of our people having ſhaken off all the ſhackles of their ſuperiors, and become not only as free, but even freer, than moſt of their ſuperiors. I believe it cannot be doubted, tho' perhaps we have no recent inſtance of it, that the perſonal attendance of every man who hath 300 l. *per annum*, in parliament, is indiſpenſibly his duty; and that, if the citizens and burgeſſes of any city or borough ſhall chuſe ſuch a one, however reluctant he appear, he may be obliged to attend, and be forcibly brought to his duty by the ſerjeant at arms.

AGAIN, there are numbers of ſubordinate offices, ſome of which are of burthen, and others of expence in the civil government: all of which, perſons

who are qualified are liable to have impoſed on them, may be obliged to undertake and properly execute, notwithſtanding any bodily labour, or even danger, to which they may ſubject themſelves, under the penalty of fines and impriſonment; nay, and what may appear ſomewhat hard, may be compelled to ſatisfy the loſſes which are eventually incident, to that of ſheriff in particular, out of their own private fortunes; and tho' this ſhould prove the ruin of a family, yet the public, to whom the price is due, incurs no debt or obligation to preſerve its officer harmleſs, let his innocence appear ever ſo clearly.

I PURPOSELY omit the mention of thoſe military militiary duties, which our old conſtitution laid upon its greateſt members. Theſe might, indeed, ſupply their poſts with ſome other able-bodied men; but, if no ſuch could have been found, the obligation nevertheleſs remained, and they were compellable

pellable to ſerve in their own proper perſons.

THE only one, therefore, who is poſſeſſed of abſolute liberty, is the loweſt member of the ſociety, who, if he prefers hunger or the wild product of the fields, hedges, lanes, and rivers, with the indulgence of eaſe and lazineſs, to a food a little more delicate, but purchaſed at the expence of labour, may lay himſelf under a ſhade; nor can be forced to take the other alternative from that which he hath, I will not affirm whether wiſely or fooliſhly, choſen.

HERE I may, perhaps, be reminded of the laſt vagrant act, where all ſuch perſons are compellable to work for the uſual and accuſtomed wages allowed in the place; but this is a clauſe little known to the juſtices of the peace, and leaſt likely to be executed by thoſe who do know it, as they know likewiſe that it is formed on the antient

power

power of the juſtices to fix and ſettle theſe wages every year, making proper allowances for the ſcarcity and plenty of the times, the cheapneſs and dearneſs of the place; and that *the uſual and accuſtomed wages*, are words without any force or meaning, when there are no ſuch; but every man ſpunges and raps whatever he can get; and will haggle as long and ſtruggle as hard to cheat his employer of two pence in a day's labour, as an honeſt tradeſman will to cheat his cuſtomers of the ſame ſum in a yard of cloth or ſilk.

It is a great pity then that this power, or rather this practice, was not revived; but this having been ſo long omitted, that it is become obſolete, will be beſt done by a new law, in which this power, as well as the conſequent power of forcing the poor to labour at a moderate and reaſonable rate, ſhould be well conſidered, and their execution facilitated: for gentlemen who give their time and labour gratis, and even voluntarily,

voluntarily, to the public, have a right to expect that all their business be made as easy as possible; and to enact laws without doing this, is to fill our statute-books, much too full already, still fuller with dead letter, of no use but to the printer of the acts of parliament.

That the evil which I have here pointed at is of itself worth redressing, is, I apprehend, no subject of dispute: for why should any persons in distress be deprived of the assistance of their fellow-subjects, when they are willing amply to reward them for their labour? or, why should the lowest of the people be permitted to exact ten times the value of their work? For those exactions increase with the degrees of necessity in their object, insomuch that on the former side many are horribly imposed upon, and that often in no trifling matters. I was very well assured, that at Deal no less than ten guineas was required, and paid by the supercargo of an Indiaman, for carrying him on

board two miles from the ſhore, when ſhe was juſt ready to ſail; ſo that his neceſſity, as his pillager well underſtood, was abſolute. Again, many others whoſe indignation will not ſubmit to ſuch plunder, are forced to refuſe the aſſiſtance, tho' they are often great ſufferers by ſo doing. On the latter ſide, the loweſt of the people are encouraged in lazineſs and idleneſs; while they live by a twentieth part of the labour that ought to maintain them, which is diametrically oppoſite to the intereſt of the public; for that requires a great deal to be done, not to be paid, for a little. And moreover, they are confirm'd in habits of exaction, and are taught to conſider the diſtreſſes of their ſuperiors as their own fair emolument.

But enough of this matter, of which I at firſt intended only to convey a hint to thoſe who are alone capable of applying the remedy, tho' they are the laſt to whom the notice of thoſe evils

evils would occur, without ſome ſuch monitor as myſelf, who am forced to travel about the world in the form of a paſſenger. I cannot but ſay I heartily wiſh our governors would attentively conſider this method of fixing the price of labour, and by that means of compelling the poor to work, ſince the due execution of ſuch powers will, I apprehend, be found the true and only means of making them uſeful, and of advancing trade, from its preſent viſibly declining ſtate, to the height to which Sir William Petyt, in his Political Arithmetic, thinks it capable of being carried.

In the afternoon the lady of the abovementioned manſion called at our inn, and left her compliments to us with Mrs. Humphrys, with an aſſurance, that while we continued windbound in that place, where ſhe feared we could be but indifferently accommodated, we were extremely welcome to the uſe of any thing which her garden

or her houſe afforded. So polite a meſſage convinced us, in ſpite of ſome arguments to the contrary, that we were not on the coaſt of Africa, or on ſome iſland, where the few ſavage inhabitants have little of human in them beſides their form.

And here I mean nothing leſs than to derogate from the merit of this lady, who is not only extremely polite in her behaviour to ſtrangers of her own rank, but ſo extremely good and charitable to all her poor neighbours, who ſtand in need of her aſſiſtance, that ſhe hath the univerſal love and praiſes of all who live near her. But, in reality, how little doth the acquiſition of ſo valuable a character, and the full indulgence of ſo worthy a diſpoſition, coſt thoſe who poſſeſs it? Both are accompliſhed by the very offals which fall from a table moderately plentiful. That they are enjoyed therefore by ſo few, ariſes truly from their being ſo few who have any

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ſuch diſpoſition to gratify, or who aim at any ſuch character.

Wedneſday, July 22. THIS morning, after having been mulcted as uſual, we diſpatched a ſervant with proper acknowledgments of the lady's goodneſs; but confined our wants entirely to the productions of her garden. He ſoon returned, in company with the gardener, both richly laden with almoſt every particular which a garden at this moſt fruitful ſeaſon of the year produces.

WHILE we were regaling ourſelves with theſe, towards the cloſe of our dinner, we received orders from our commander, who had dined that day with ſome officers on board a man of war, to return inſtantly to the ſhip; for that the wind was become favourable, and he ſhould weigh that evening. Theſe orders were ſoon followed by the captain himſelf, who was ſtill in the utmoſt hurry, tho' the occaſion of

it had long ſince ceaſed: for the wind had, indeed, a little ſhifted that afternoon, but was before this very quietly ſet down in its old quarters.

THIS laſt was a lucky hit for me: for, as the captain, to whoſe orders we reſolved to pay no obedience, unleſs delivered by himſelf, did not return till paſt ſix, ſo much time ſeemed requiſite to put up the furniture of our bed-chamber or dining-room, (for almoſt every article, even to ſome of the chairs, were either our own or the captain's property) ſo much more in conveying it as well as myſelf, as dead a luggage as any, to the ſhore, and thence to the ſhip, that the night threatned firſt to overtake us. A terrible circumſtance to me, in my decayed condition; eſpecially as very heavy ſhowers of rain, attended with a high wind, continued to fall inceſſantly; the being carried thro' which two miles in the dark, in a wet and

open

open boat, ſeemed little leſs than certain death.

HOWEVER, as my commander was abſolute, his orders peremptory, and my obedience neceſſary, I reſolved to avail myſelf of a philoſophy which hath been of notable uſe to me in the latter part of my life, and which is contained in this hemiſtich of Virgil.

---*Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo eſt.*

The meading of which, if Virgil had any, I think I rightly underſtand and rightly applied.

As I was therefore to be entirely paſſive in my motion, I reſolved to abandon myſelf to the conduct of thoſe who were to carry me into a cart, when it returned from unloading the goods.

BUT before this, the captain perceiving what had happened in the clouds, and that the wind remained as

much his enemy as ever, came up ſtairs to me, with a reprieve till the morning. This was, I own, very agreeable news, and I little regreted the trouble of refurniſhing my apartment, by ſending back for the goods.

MRS. Humphrys was not well pleaſed with this. As ſhe underſtood the reprieve to be only till the morning, ſhe ſaw nothing but lodging to be poſſibly added, out of which ſhe was to deduct fire and candle, and the remainder, ſhe thought, would ſcarce pay her for her trouble. She exerted therefore all the ill humour of which ſhe was miſtreſs, and did all ſhe could to thwart and perplex every thing during the whole evening.

Thurſday, July 23. EARLY in the morning the captain came to viſit us, and to preſs us to make haſte on board. 'I am reſolved,' ſays he, 'not to loſe 'a moment, now the wind is coming 'about fair: for my own part, I never

'was

'was surer of a wind in all my life.' I use his very words; nor will I presume to interpret or comment upon them farther, than by observing that they were spoke in the utmost hurry.

We promised to be ready as soon as breakfast was over; but this was not so soon as was expected: for in removing our goods the evening before, the teachest was unhappily lost.

Every place was immediately searched, and many where it was impossible for it to be; for this was a loss of much greater consequence, than it may at first seem to many of my readers. Ladies and valetudinarians do not easily dispense with the use of this sovereign cordial, in a single instance; but to undertake a long voyage without any probability of being supplied with it the whole way, was above the reach of patience. And yet, dreadful as this calamity was, it seemed unavoidable. The whole town of Ryde could not supply a single leaf; for as to

what Mrs. Humphrys and the ſhop called by that name, it was not of Chineſe growth. It did not indeed in the leaſt reſemble tea, either in ſmell or taſte, or in any particular, unleſs in being a leaf: for it was in truth no other than a tobacco of the mundungus ſpecies. And as for the hopes of relief in any other port, they were not to be depended upon; for the captain had poſitively declared he was ſure of a wind, and would let go his anchor no more till he arrived in the Tajo.

When a good deal of time had been ſpent, moſt of it indeed waſted on this occaſion, a thought occurred, which every one wondered at its not having preſented itſelf the firſt moment. This was to apply to the good lady, who could not fail of pitying and relieving ſuch diſtreſs. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of our misfortune, till whoſe return we employed ourſelves in preparatives for our departure, that we might have nothing

thing to do but to ſwallow our breakfaſt when it arrived. The tea-cheſt, tho' of no leſs conſequence to us than the military cheſt to a general, was given up as loſt, or rather as ſtolen; for tho' I would not, for the world, mention any particular name, it is certain we had ſuſpicions, and all, I am afraid, fell on the ſame perſon.

The man returned from the worthy lady with much expedition, and brought with him a caniſter of tea, diſpatched with ſo true a generoſity, as well as politeneſs, that if our voyage had been as long again, we ſhould have incurred no danger of being brought to a ſhort allowance in this moſt important article. At the very ſame inſtant likewiſe arrived William the footman, with our own tea-cheſt. It had been, indeed, left in the hoy, when the other goods were re-landed, as William, when he firſt heard it was miſſing, had ſuſpected; and whence, had not the owner of the hoy been un-

luckily out of the way, he had retrieved it ſoon enough to have prevented our giving the lady an opportunity of diſplaying ſome part of her goodneſs.

To ſearch the hoy was, indeed, too natural a ſuggeſtion to have eſcaped any one, nor did it eſcape being mentioned by many of us; but we were diſſuaded from it by my wife's maid, who perfectly well remembered ſhe had left the cheſt in the bed-chamber; for that ſhe had never given it out of her hand in her way to or from the hoy; but William, perhaps, knew the maid better, and beſt underſtood how far ſhe was to be believed; for otherwiſe he would hardly of his own accord, after hearing her declarations, have hunted out the hoyman, with much pains and difficulty.

Thus ended this ſcene, which begun with ſuch appearance of diſtreſs, and ended with becoming the ſubject of mirth and laughter.

Nothing

NOTHING now remained but to pay our taxes, which were indeed laid with inconceivable ſeverity. Lodging was raiſed ſix-pence, fire in the ſame proportion, and even candles, which had hitherto eſcaped, were charged with a wantonneſs of impoſition, from the beginning, and placed under the ſtile of overſight. We were raiſed a whole pound, whereas we had only burnt ten, in five nights, and the pound conſiſted of twenty-four.

LASTLY, an attempt was made, which almoſt as far exceeds human credulity to believe, as it did human patience to ſubmit to. This was to make us pay as much for exiſting an hour or two as for exiſting a whole day; and dreſſing dinner was introduced as an article, tho' we left the houſe before either pot or ſpit had approached the fire. Here I own my patience failed me, and I became an example of the truth of the obſervation, That all ty-

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ranny and oppreſſion may be carried too far, and that a yoke may be made too intolerable for the neck of the tameſt ſlave. When I remonſtrated with ſome warmth againſt this grievance, Mrs. Humphrys gave me a look, and left the room, without making any anſwer. She returned in a minute, running to me with pen, ink, and paper in her hand, and deſired me to make my own bill; for ſhe hoped, ſhe ſaid, I did not expect that her houſe was to be dirtied, and her goods ſpoiled and conſumed for nothing. 'The whole is 'but thirteen ſhillings. Can gentle-'folks lie a whole night at a public 'houſe for leſs? If they can, I am ſure 'it is time to give off being a landlady: 'but pay me what you pleaſe; I would 'have people know that I value my 'money as little as other folks. But I 'was always a fool, as I ſays to my huſ-'band, and never knows which ſide my 'bread is buttered of. And yet, to be 'ſure, your honour ſhall be my warning 'not to be bit ſo again. Some folks

'knows

'knows better than others some, how to 'make their bills. Candles! why, yes, 'to be sure; why should not travellers 'pay for candles? I am sure I pays for 'my candles, and the chandler pays the 'King's Majesty for them; and if he 'did not, I must, so as it comes to the 'same thing in the end. To be sure I 'am out of sixteens at present, but these 'burn as white and as clear, tho' not 'quite so large. I expects my chandler 'here soon, or I would send to Portsmouth, if your honour was to stay 'any time longer. But when folks 'stays only for a wind, you knows 'there can be no dependance on such!' Here she put on a little slyness of aspect, and seemed willing to submit to interruption. I interrupted her, accordingly, by throwing down half a guinea, and declared I had no more English money, which was indeed true; and as she could not immediately change the thirty-six shilling pieces, it put a final end to the dispute. Mrs. Humphrys soon left the room, and we soon after left the house;

nor would this good woman ſee us, or wiſh us a good voyage.

I MUST not, however, quit this place, where we had been ſo ill-treated, without doing it impartial juſtice, and recording what may with the ſtricteſt truth be ſaid in its favour.

FIRST then, as to its ſituation, it is, I think, moſt delightful, and in the moſt pleaſant ſpot in the whole iſland. It is true it wants the advantage of that beautiful river, which leads from Newport to Cowes: but the proſpect here extending to the ſea, and taking in Portſmouth, Spithead, and St. Helen's, would be more than a recompence for the loſs of the Thames itſelf, even in the moſt delightful part of Berkſhire or Buckinghamſhire, tho' another Denham, or another Pope, ſhould unite in celebrating it. For my own part, I confeſs myſelf ſo entirely fond of a ſea proſpect, that I think nothing on the land can equal it; and if it be ſet off with ſhipping,

ping, I desire to borrow no ornament from the *terra firma*. A fleet of ships is, in my opinion, the noblest object which the art of man hath ever produced; and far beyond the power of those architects who deal in brick, in stone, or in marble.

When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the best of men and of ministers, used to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taste must have allowed that he, at least, treated the nation with a fine sight for their money. A much finer, indeed, than the same expence in an encampment could have produced. For what, indeed, is the best idea which the prospect of a number of huts can furnish to the mind, but of a number of men forming themselves into a society, before the art of building more substantial houses was known? This, perhaps, would be agreeable enough; but, in truth, there is a much worse idea ready to step in before it, and that is of a body of cut-throats,

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the ſupports of tyranny, the invaders of the juſt liberties and properties of mankind, the plunderers of the induſtrious, the raviſhers of the chaſte, the murderers of the innocent; and, in a word, the deſtroyers of the plenty, the peace, and the ſafety of their fellow-creatures.

And what, it may be ſaid, are theſe men of war, which ſeem ſo delightful an object to our eyes? Are they not alike the ſupport of tyranny, and oppreſſion of innocence, carrying with them deſolation and ruin wherever their maſters pleaſe to ſend them. This is, indeed, too true; and however the ſhip of war may, in its bulk and equipment, exceed the honeſt merchant-man, I heartily wiſh there was no neceſſity for it; for, tho' I muſt own the ſuperior beauty of the object on one ſide, I am more pleaſed with the ſuperior excellence of the idea, which I can raiſe in my mind on the other; while I reflect on the art and induſtry of mankind, engaged

in

in the daily improvements of commerce, to the mutual benefit of all countries, and to the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of ſocial life.

This pleaſant village is ſituated on a gentle aſcent from the water, whence it affords that charming proſpect I have above deſcribed. Its ſoil is a gravel, which aſſiſted with its declivity, preſerves it always ſo dry, that immediately after the moſt violent rain, a fine lady may walk without wetting her ſilken ſhoes. The fertility of the place is apparent from its extraordinary verdure, and it is ſo ſhaded with large and flouriſhing elms, that its narrow lanes are a natural grove or walk, which in the regularity of its plantation vies with the power of art, and in its wanton exuberancy greatly exceeds it.

In a field, in the aſcent of this hill, about a quarter of a mile from the ſea, ſtands a neat little chapel. It is very ſmall, but adequate to the number of inhabitants:

inhabitants: for the pariſh doth not ſeem to contain above thirty houſes.

At about two miles diſtant from this pariſh, lives that polite and good lady to whoſe kindneſs we were ſo much obliged. It is placed on a hill, whoſe bottom is waſhed by the ſea, and which from its eminence at top, commands a view of great part of the iſland, as well as it does that of the oppoſite ſhore. This houſe was formerly built by one Boyce, who, from a blackſmith at Goſport, became poſſeſſed, by great ſucceſs in ſmuggling, of 40000 l. With part of this he purchaſed an eſtate here, and by chance, probably, fixed on this ſpot for building a large houſe. Perhaps the convenience of carrying on his buſineſs, to which it is ſo well adapted, might dictate the ſituation to him. We can hardly, at leaſt, attribute it to the ſame taſte with which he furniſhed his houſe, or at leaſt his library, by ſending an order to a bookſeller in London, to pack him up 500 pounds worth of his hand-

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ſomeſt books. They tell here ſeveral almoſt incredible ſtories of the ignorance, the folly, and the pride which this poor man and his wife diſcovered during the ſhort continuance of his proſperity; for he did not long eſcape the ſharp eyes of the revenue-ſolicitors, and was, by extents from the Court of Exchequer, ſoon reduced below his original ſtate, to that of confinement in the Fleet. All his effects were ſold, and, among the reſt, his books, by an auction at Portſmouth, for a very ſmall price; for the bookſeller was now diſcovered to have been perfectly a maſter of his trade, and relying on Mr. Boyce's finding little time to read, had ſent him not only the moſt laſting wares of his ſhop, but duplicates of the ſame, under different titles.

His eſtate and houſe were purchaſed by a gentleman of theſe parts, whoſe widow now enjoys them, and who hath improved them, particularly her gardens, with ſo elegant a taſte, that the painter

painter who would assist his imagination in the composition of a most exquisite landschape, or the poet, who would describe an earthly paradise, could no where furnish themselves with a richer pattern.

We left this place about eleven in the morning, and were again conveyed with more sunshine than wind aboard our ship.

Whence our captain had acquired his power of prophecy, when he promised us and himself a prosperous wind, I will not determine; it is sufficient to observe, that he was a false prophet, and that the weathercocks continued to point as before.

He would not, however, so easily give up his skill in prediction. He persevered in asserting that the wind was changed, and, having weighed his anchor, fell down that afternoon to St. Helen's, which was at about the distance of

of five miles; and whither his friend the tide, in defiance of the wind, which was moſt manifeſtly againſt him, ſoftly wafted him in as many hours.

HERE about ſeven in the evening, before which time we could not procure it, we ſat down to regale ourſelves with ſome roaſted veniſon, which was much better dreſt than we imagined it would be, and an excellent cold paſty which my wife had made at Ryde, and which we had reſerved uncut to eat on board our ſhip, whither we all chearfully exulted in being returned from the preſence of Mrs. Humphrys, who, by the exact reſemblance ſhe bore to a fury, ſeemed to have been with no great propriety ſettled in Paradiſe.

Friday, July 24. As we paſſed by Spithead on the preceding evening, we ſaw the two regiments of ſoldiers who were juſt returned from Gibraltar and Minorca; and this day a lieutenant belonging

longing to one of them, who was the captain's nephew, came to pay a viſit to his uncle, and entertained the ladies with a deſcription of thoſe countries, the manners, dreſs, and diverſions of the inhabitants of Minorca, to which he added an account of an officer's life in garriſon, which, tho' it might be tolerable for three or four years, muſt, I think, be inſupportable for a longer time. And I found, indeed, by his diſcourſe, that the troops in general embarked from England to theſe garriſons, ſince they had been changed every third year, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs; but that, before this time, they looked upon going to Gibralter and Port Mahon in the light of baniſhment; which made many of them melancholy, and ſome of the ſoldiers, it is ſaid, had ſuch a ſtrong deſire of reviſiting their native country, that they abſolutely pined away, which I am much inclined to believe; for a brother of mine, who was at Minorca about fourteen years ago, inform'd me that he came to

England in the ſame ſhip with a ſoldier who ſhot himſelf thro' the hand, merely that he might be ſent home, having been in that iſland for many years. But now the north wind, dearer to our captain even than the company of his nephew for whom he expreſs'd the higheſt regard, ſprung ſuddenly up, and called aloud to him to weigh his anchor. While this ceremony was performing, the ſea-captain ordered out his boat to row the land-captain to ſhore.

It appeared now, that the captain had been only miſtaken in the date of his prediction, by placing the event a day earlier than it happened; for the wind which now aroſe, was not only favourable but briſk, and was no ſooner in reach of our ſails, than it ſwept us away by the back of the Iſle of Wight, and having in the night carried us by Chriſt-church and Peveral-point, brought us the next noon, *Saturday*, *July* 29. off the iſland of Portland, ſo famous for the ſmallneſs and ſweetneſs

of its mutton, of which a leg ſeldom weighs four pounds. We would have bought a ſheep, but our captain would not permit it; for I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that whether the wind was fair or foul, he always made the moſt of it, for he never let go his anchor but with a manifeſt concern, and was generally out of humour for an hour or two upon theſe occaſions, tho' he needed not have been in ſuch a hurry, for preſently the wind, I will not poſitively aſſert in reſentment of his boldneſs, ſhewed him a dog's trick, and ſlily ſlipt back again to his ſummer-houſe in the ſouth-weſt.

The captain now grew outrageous, and declaring open war with the wind, took a reſolution, rather more bold than wiſe, of ſailing in defiance of it, and in its teeth. He declared he would let go his anchor no more, but would beat the ſea while he had either yard or ſail left. He accordingly ſtood from the ſhore, and made ſo large a tack, that before night,

night, though he ſeemed to advance but little on his way, he was got out of ſight of land.

TOWARDS the evening, the wind began, in the captain's own language, to freſhen; and indeed it freſhned ſo much, that before ten it blew a perfect hurricane. The captain having got, as he ſuppoſed, to a ſafe diſtance, tacked again towards the Engliſh ſhore; and now the wind veered a point only in his favour, and continued to blow with ſuch violence, that the ſhip ran above eight knots or miles an hour, during this whole day and tempeſtuous night, till bed-time. I was obliged to betake myſelf once more to my ſolitude; for my women were again all down in their ſea-ſickneſs, and the captain was buſy on deck.

HAVING contracted no great degree of good humour, by living a whole day alone, without a ſingle ſoul to converſe with, I took but ill phyſic to purge it

off, by a bed-converſation with the captain; who, amongſt many bitter lamentations of his fate, and proteſting he had more patience than a Job, frequently intermixed ſummons to the commanding-officer on the deck, who now happened to be one Morriſon, of whom he inquired every quarter of an hour concerning the ſtate of affairs; the wind, the care of the ſhip, and other matters of navigation. The frequency of theſe ſummons, as well as the ſolicitude with which they were made, gave me to underſtand, that we were not totally free from danger, and would have given no ſmall alarm to a man, who had either not learnt what it is to die, or known what it is to be miſerable. And my dear wife and child muſt pardon me, if what I did not conceive to be any great evil to myſelf, I was not much terrified with the thoughts of happening to them: in truth, I have often thought they are both too good, and too gentle, to be truſted to the power of any man.

CAN I ſay then I had no fear; indeed I cannot, reader, I was afraid for thee, leſt thou ſhouldſt have been deprived of that pleaſure thou art now enjoying.

FROM all theſe fears we were relieved, at ſix in the morning, by the arrival of Mr. Morriſon, who acquainted us that he was ſure he beheld land very near; for he could not ſee half a mile, by reaſon of the hazineſs of the weather. This land, he ſaid, was, he believed, the Berry-head, which forms one ſide of Torbay: the captain much ſurprized at this news, for he did not believe he was ſo near land, whipped on his night-gown, and regardleſs of every other dreſs, ran upon deck, ſaying, that if that was true he would give him his mother for a maid, a forfeiture which afterwards became due, for within half an hour, he returning into the cabin, wiſhed me joy of our lying ſafe at anchor in the bay.

Sunday, July 26. THINGS now began to put on an aſpect very different from what they had lately worn: the news that the ſhip had almoſt loſt its mizen, and that we had procured very fine clouted cream and freſh bread and butter from the ſhore, reſtored health and ſpirits to our women, and we all ſat down to a very chearful breakfaſt.

BUT however pleaſant our ſtay promiſed to be here, we were all deſirous it ſhould be ſhort: I reſolved immediately to diſpatch my man into the country, to purchaſe a preſent of cyder for my friends of that which is called Southam, as well as to take with me a hogſhead of it to Liſbon; for it is, in my opinion, much more delicious than that which is the growth of Herefordſhire. I purchaſed three hogſheads for five pounds ten ſhillings, all which I ſhould have ſcarce thought worth mentioning, had I not believed it might be of equal ſervice to the honeſt farmer who ſold it me, and who is by the neighbouring gentle-

gentlemen reputed to deal in the very beſt, and to the reader, who from ignorance of the means of providing better for himſelf, ſwallows at a dearer rate the juice of Middleſex turnip, inſtead of that Vinum Pomonæ which Mr. Giles Leverance of Cheeſhurſt, near Dartmouth in Devon, will, at the price of forty ſhillings per hogſhead, ſend in double caſks to any part of the world. Had the wind been very ſudden in ſhifting, I had loſt my cyder, by an attempt of a boatman to exact, according to cuſtom. He required five ſhillings for conveying my man a mile and half to the ſhore, and four more if he ſtaid to bring him back. This I thought to be ſuch inſufferable impudence, that I ordered him to be immediately chaſed from the ſhip, without any anſwer. Indeed, there are few inconveniencies that I would not rather encounter, than encourage the inſolent demands of theſe wretches, at the expence of my own indignation, of which I own they are not the only objects, but rather thoſe who

purchaſe a paultry convenience by encouraging them. But of this I have already ſpoken very largely. I ſhall conclude, therefore, with the leave which this fellow took of our ſhip, ſaying, he ſhould know it again, and would not put off from the ſhore to relieve it in any diſtreſs whatever.

It will, doubtleſs, ſurprize many of my readers to hear, that when we lay at anchor within a mile or two of a town, ſeveral days together, and even in the moſt temperate weather, we ſhould frequently want freſh proviſions and herbage, and other emoluments of the ſhore, as much as if we had been an hundred leagues from land. And this too, while numbers of boats were in our ſight, whoſe owners get their livelihood by rowing people up and down, and could be at any time ſummoned by a ſignal to our aſſiſtance, and while the captain had a little boat of his own with men always ready to row it at his command.

This,

THIS, however, hath been partly accounted for already, by the impoſing diſpoſition of the people; who aſked ſo much more than the proper price of their labour. And as to the uſefulneſs of the captain's boat, it requires to be a little expatiated upon, as it will tend to lay open ſome of the grievances which demand the utmoſt regard of our legiſlature, as they affect the moſt valuable part of the king's ſubjects, thoſe by whom the commerce of the nation is carried into execution.

OUR captain then, who was a very good and experienced ſeaman, having been above thirty years the maſter of a veſſel, part of which he had ſerved, as hath been before noticed, as commander of a privateer; and had diſcharged himſelf with great courage and conduct, and with as great ſucceſs, diſcovered the utmoſt averſion to the ſending his boat aſhore, whenever we lay wind-bound in any of our harbours. This averſion did not ariſe from any fear of wearing out

his boat by uſing it, but was, in truth, the reſult of experience, that it was eaſier to ſend his men on ſhore than to recal them. They acknowledged him to be their maſter while they remained on ſhip-board, but did not allow his power to extend to the ſhores, where they had no ſooner ſet their foot, than every man became *ſui juris*, and thought himſelf at full liberty to return when he pleaſed. Now it is not any delight that theſe fellows have in the freſh air, or verdant fields on the land. Every one of them would prefer his ſhip and his hammock to all the ſweets of Arabia the happy; but unluckily for them, there are in every ſea-port in England certain houſes, whoſe chief livelihood depends on providing entertainment for the gentlemen of the jacket. For this purpoſe, they are always well-furniſhed with thoſe cordial liquors, which do immediately inſpire the heart with gladneſs, baniſhing all careful thoughts, and indeed all others from the mind, and opening the mouth with ſongs of chearfulneſs and

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thankſgiving, for the many wonderful bleſſings with which a ſea-faring life overflows.

For my own part, however whimſical it may appear, I confeſs, I have thought the ſtrange ſtory of Circe in the Odyſſey, no other than an ingenious allegory; in which Homer intended to convey to his countrymen the ſame kind of inſtruction, which we intend to communicate to our own in this digreſſion. As teaching the art of war to the Greeks, was the plain deſign of the Iliad; ſo was teaching them the art of navigation the no leſs manifeſt intention of the Odyſſey. For the improvement of this, their ſituation was moſt excellently adapted; and accordingly we find Thucydides, in the beginning of his hiſtory, conſiders the Greeks as a ſet of pirates, or privateers, plundering each other by ſea. This being probably the firſt inſtitution of commerce before the Ars Cauponaria was invented, and merchants, inſtead of robbing, began to

cheat and outwit each other, and by degrees changed the Metabletic, the only kind of traffic allowed by Ariſtotle in his Politics, into the Chrematiſtic.

By this allegory then I ſuppoſe Ulyſſes to have been the captain of a merchant-ſhip, and Circe ſome good alewife, who made his crew drunk with the ſpirituous liquors of thoſe days. With this the transformation into ſwine, as well as all other incidents of the fable, will notably agree; and thus a key will be found out for unlocking the whole myſtery, and forging, at leaſt, ſome meaning to a ſtory which, at preſent, appears very ſtrange and abſurd.

Hence, moreover, will appear the very near reſemblance between the ſeafaring men of all ages and nations; and here perhaps may be eſtabliſhed the truth and juſtice of that obſervation, which will occur oftener than once in this voyage, that all human fleſh is not the ſame fleſh, but that there is one kind of

of fleſh of landmen, and another of ſeamen.

PHILOSOPHERS, divines, and others, who have treated the gratification of human appetites with contempt, have, among other inſtances, inſiſted very ſtrongly on that ſatiety which is ſo apt to overtake them, even in the very act of enjoyment. And here they more particularly deſerve our attention, as moſt of them may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak from their own experience; and very probably gave us their leſſons with a full ſtomach. Thus hunger and thirſt, whatever delight they may afford while we are eating and drinking, paſs both away from us with the plate and the cup; and though we ſhould imitate the Romans, if indeed they were ſuch dull beaſts, which I can ſcarce believe, to unload the belly like a dung-pot, in order to fill it again with another load, yet would the pleaſure be ſo conſiderably leſſened, that it would ſcarce repay us the trouble of purchaſing it with

ſwal-

ſwallowing a baſon of camomile tea. A ſecond haunch of veniſon, or a ſecond doſe of turtle, would hardly allure a city glutton with its ſmell. Even the celebrated Jew himſelf, when well filled with Calipaſh and Calipee, goes contentedly home to tell his money, and expects no more pleaſure from his throat, during the next twenty-four hours. Hence I ſuppoſe Dr. South took that elegant compariſon of the joys of a ſpeculative man to the ſolemn ſilence of an Archimedes over a problem, and thoſe of a glutton to the ſtillneſs of a ſow at her waſh. A ſimile, which, if it became the pulpit at all, could only become it in the afternoon.

WHEREAS, in thoſe potations which the mind ſeems to enjoy, rather than the bodily appetite, there is happily no ſuch ſatiety; but the more a man drinks the more he deſires; as if, like Mark Anthony in Dryden, his appetite increaſed with feeding, and this to ſuch an immoderate degree, *ut nullus ſit deſiderio*

ſiderio aut pudor aut modus. Hence, as with the gang of Captain Ulyſſes, enſues ſo total a transformation, that the man no more continues what he was. Perhaps he ceaſes for a time to be at all; or, tho' he may retain the ſame outward form and figure he had before, yet is his nobler part, as we are taught to call it, ſo changed, that, inſtead of being the ſame man, he ſcarce remembers what he was a few hours before. And this transformation being once obtained, is ſo eaſily preſerved by the ſame potations, which induce no ſatiety, that the captain in vain ſends or goes in queſt of his crew. They know him no longer; or, if they do, they acknowledge not his power, having indeed as entirely forgotten themſelves, as if they had taken a large draught of the river of Lethe.

Nor is the captain always ſure of even finding out the place to which Circe hath conveyed them. There are many of thoſe houſes in every port-town. Nay, there are ſome where the ſorcereſs doth

doth not truſt only to her drugs; but hath inſtruments of a different kind to execute her purpoſes, by whoſe means the tar is effectually ſecreted from the knowledge and purſuit of his captain. This would, indeed, be very fatal, was it not for one circumſtance; that the ſailor is ſeldom provided with the proper bait for theſe harpies. However, the contrary ſometimes happens, as theſe harpies will bite at almoſt any thing, and will ſnap at a pair of ſilver buttons or buckles, as ſurely as at the ſpecie itſelf. Nay, ſometimes they are ſo voracious, that the very naked hook will go down, and the jolly young ſailor is ſacrificed for his own ſake.

In vain, at ſuch a ſeaſon as this, would the vows of a pious heathen have prevailed over Neptune, Æolus, or any other marine deity. In vain would the prayers of a Chriſtian captain be attended with the like ſucceſs. The wind may change, how it pleaſes, while all hands are on ſhore; the anchor

chor would remain firm in the ground, and the ſhip would continue in durance, unleſs, like other forcible priſon-breakers, it forcibly got looſe for no good purpoſe.

Now, as the favour of winds and courts, and ſuch like, is always to be laid hold on at the very firſt motion, for within twenty-four hours all may be changed again; ſo in the former caſe, the loſs of a day may be the loſs of a voyage: for, tho' it may appear to ſome perſons not well ſkilled in navigation, who ſee ſhips meet and ſail by each other, that the wind blows ſometimes eaſt and weſt, north and ſouth, backwards and forwards, at the ſame inſtant; yet, certain it is, that the land is ſo contrived, that even the ſame wind will not, like the ſame horſe, always bring a man to the end of his journey; but, that the gale which the mariner prayed heartily for yeſterday, he may as heartily deprecate to-morrow; while all uſe and benefit, which would

would have ariſen to him from the weſterly wind of to-morrow, may be totally loſt and thrown away, by neglecting the offer of the eaſterly blaſt which blows to-day.

HENCE enſues grief and diſreputation to the innocent captain, loſs and diſappointment to the worthy merchant, and not ſeldom great prejudice to the trade of a nation, whoſe manufactures are thus liable to lye unſold in a foreign warehouſe, the market being foreſtall'd by ſome rival whoſe ſailors are under a better diſcipline. To guard againſt theſe inconveniencies, the prudent captain takes every precaution in his power: he makes the ſtrongeſt contracts with his crew, and thereby binds them ſo firmly, that none but the greateſt or leaſt of men can break through them with impunity: but for one of theſe two reaſons, which I will not determine, the ſailor, like his brother fiſh the eel, is too ſlippery to be held, and plunges

plunges into his element with perfect impunity.

To ſpeak a plain truth, there is no truſting to any contract with one whom the wiſe citizens of London call a bad man; for, with ſuch a one, tho' your bond be ever ſo ſtrong, it will prove in the end good for nothing.

What then is to be done in this caſe? What, indeed! but to call in the aſſiſtance of that tremendous magiſtrate, the juſtice of peace, who can, and often doth lay good and bad men in equal durance; and, tho' he ſeldom cares to ſtretch his bonds to what is great, never finds any thing too minute for their detention, but will hold the ſmalleſt reptile alive ſo faſt in his nooſe, that he can never get out 'till he is let drop through it.

Why, therefore, upon the breach of thoſe contracts, ſhould not an immediate application be made to the neareſt magiſtrate

magiſtrate of this order, who ſhould be empower'd to convey the delinquent, either to ſhip or to priſon, at the election of the captain, to be fettered by the leg in either place.

BUT, as the caſe now ſtands, the condition of this poor captain, without any commiſſion, and of this abſolute commander without any power, is much worſe than we have hitherto ſhewn it to be; for notwithſtanding all the aforeſaid contracts to ſail in the good ſhip the Elizabeth, if the ſailor ſhould, for better wages, find it more his intereſt to go on board the better ſhip, the Mary, either before their ſetting out, or on their ſpeedy meeting in ſome port, he may prefer the latter without any other danger, than that of 'doing what he ought not to have 'done,' contrary to a rule which he is ſeldom Chriſtian enough to have much at heart, while the captain is generally too good a Chriſtian to puniſh a man out of revenge only, when he is to be

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at a conſiderable expence for ſo doing. There are many other deficiencies in our laws, relating to maritime affairs, and which would probably have been long ſince corrected, had we any ſeamen in the Houſe of Commons. Not that I would inſinuate that the legiſlature wants a ſupply of many gentlemen in the ſea-ſervice: but, as theſe gentlemen are, by their attendance in the houſe, unfortunately prevented from ever going to ſea, and there learning what they might communicate to their landed brethren, theſe latter remain as ignorant in that branch of knowledge, as they would be if none but courtiers and fox-hunters had been elected into parliament, without a ſingle fiſh among them. The following ſeems to me to be an effect of this kind, and it ſtrikes me the ſtronger, as I remember the caſe to have happened, and remember it to have been diſpuniſhable. A captain of a trading veſſel, of which he was part-owner, took in a large freight of oats at Liverpool, conſign'd to the

market

market at Bear-key: this he carried to a port in Hampſhire, and there ſold it as his own, and freighting his veſſel with wheat for the port of Cadiz in Spain, dropt it at Oporto in his way, and there ſelling it for his own uſe, took in a lading of wine, with which he ſailed again, and having converted it in the ſame manner, together with a large ſum of money with which he was entruſted, for the benefit of certain merchants, ſold the ſhip and cargo in another port, and then wiſely ſat down contented with the fortune he had made, and returned to London to enjoy the remainder of his days, with the fruits of his former labours and a good conſcience.

The ſum he brought home with him, conſiſted of near ſix thouſand pounds, all in ſpecie, and moſt of it in that coin which Portugal diſtributes ſo liberally over Europe.

He

He was not yet old enough to be paſt all ſenſe of pleaſure, nor ſo puff'd up with the pride of his good fortune, as to overlook his old acquaintances the journeymen taylors, from among whom he had been formerly preſs'd into the ſea-ſervice, and having there laid the foundation of his future ſucceſs, by his ſhares in prizes, had afterwards become captain of a trading veſſel, in which he purchaſed an intereſt, and had ſoon begun to trade in the honourable manner above-mentioned.

The captain now took up his reſidence at an alehouſe in Drury-lane, where, having all his money by him in a trunk, he ſpent above five pounds a day among his old friends the gentlemen and ladies of thoſe parts.

The merchant of Liverpool having luckily had notice from a friend, during the blaze of his fortune, did, by the aſſiſtance of a juſtice of peace, without the

the aſſiſtance of the law, recover his whole loſs. The captain, however, wiſely choſe to refund no more; but perceiving with what haſty ſtrides envy was purſuing his fortune, he took ſpeedy means to retire out of her reach, and to enjoy the reſt of his wealth in an inglorious obſcurity; nor could the ſame juſtice overtake him time enough to aſſiſt a ſecond merchant, as he had done the firſt.

THIS was a very extraordinary caſe, and the more ſo, as the ingenious gentleman had ſteered entirely clear of all crimes in our law.

Now, how it comes about that a robbery ſo very eaſy to be committed, and to which there is ſuch immediate temptation always before the eyes of theſe fellows, ſhould receive the encouragement of impunity, is to be accounted for only from the overſight of the legiſlature, as that overſight can only be,

I think, derived from the reaſons I have aſſigned for it.

But I will dwell no longer on this ſubject. If what I have here ſaid ſhould ſeem of ſufficient conſequence to engage the attention of any man in power, and ſhould thus be the means of applying any remedy, to the moſt inveterate evils at leaſt, I have obtained my whole deſire, and ſhall have lain ſo long wind-bound in the ports of this kingdom to ſome purpoſe. I would indeed have this work, which, if I ſhould live to finiſh it, (a matter of no great certainty, if indeed of any great hope to me,) will be probably the laſt I ſhall ever undertake, to produce ſome better end than the mere diverſion of the reader.

Monday. This day our captain went aſhore, to dine with a gentleman who lives in theſe parts, and who ſo exactly reſembles the character given by Homer of Axylus, that the only difference

I can trace between them is, the one living by the highway, erected his hoſpitality chiefly in favour of land travellers; and the other living by the waterſide, gratifies his humanity by accommodating the wants of the mariner.

In the evening our commander received a viſit from a brother captain, who lay wind-bound in the ſame harbour. This latter captain was a Swiſs. He was then maſter of a veſſel bound to Guinea, and had formerly been a privateering, when our own hero was employed in the ſame laudable ſervice. The honeſty and freedom of the Switzer, his vivacity, in which he was in no reſpect inferior to his near neighbours the French, the aukward and affected politeneſs, which was likewiſe of French extraction, mixed with the brutal roughneſs of the Engliſh tar (for he had ſerved under the colours of this nation, and his crew had been of the ſame) made ſuch an odd variety, ſuch a hotch-potch of character, that I ſhould

ſhould have been much diverted with him, had not his voice, which was as loud as a ſpeaking trumpet, unfortunately made my head ake. The noiſe which he conveyed into the ears of his brother captain, who ſat on one ſide of him, the ſoft addreſſes, with which, mixed with aukward bows, he ſaluted the ladies on the other, were ſo agreeably contraſted, that a man muſt not only have been void of all taſte of humour, and inſenſible of mirth, but duller than Cibber is repreſented in the Dunciad, who could be unentertained with him a little while: for, I confeſs, ſuch entertainments ſhould always be very ſhort, as they are very liable to pall. But he ſuffered not this to happen at preſent; for having given us his company a quarter of an hour only, he retired, after many apologies for the ſhortneſs of his viſit.

Tueſday. The wind being leſs boiſterous than it had hitherto been ſince our arrival here, ſeveral fiſhing boats,

which the tempeſtuous weather yeſterday had prevented from working, came on board us with fiſh. This was ſo freſh, ſo good in kind, and ſo very cheap, that we ſupplied ourſelves with great numbers, among which were very large ſoals at four-pence a pair, and whitings, of almoſt a prepoſterous ſize, at ninepence a ſcore.

The only fiſh which bore any price was a john dorée, as it is called. I bought one of at leaſt four pounds weight for as many ſhillings. It reſembles a turbut in ſhape, but exceeds it in firmneſs and flavour. The price had the appearance of being conſiderable, when oppoſed to the extraordinary cheapneſs of others of value; but was, in truth, ſo very reaſonable, when eſtimated by its goodneſs, that it left me under no other ſurprize, than how the gentlemen of this country, not greatly eminent for the delicacy of their taſte, had diſcovered the preference of the dorée to all other fiſh: but I was informed

formed that Mr. Quin, whoſe diſtinguiſhing tooth hath been ſo juſtly celebrated, had lately viſited Plymouth, and had done thoſe honours to the dorée, which are ſo juſtly due to it from that ſect of modern philoſophers, who with Sir Epicure Mammon, or Sir Epicure Quin, their head, ſeem more to delight in a fiſh-pond than in a garden, as the old Epicureans are ſaid to have done.

UNFORTUNATELY for the fiſhmongers of London, the dorée reſides only in thoſe ſeas; for could any of this company but convey one to the temple of luxury under the Piazza, where Macklin the high prieſt daily ſerves up his rich offerings to that goddeſs, great would be the reward of that fiſhmonger in bleſſings poured down upon him from the goddeſs; as great would his merit be towards the high prieſt, who could never be thought to over-rate ſuch valuable incenſe.

And here having mentioned the extreme cheapneſs of fiſh in the Devonſhire ſea, and given ſome little hint of the extreme dearneſs with which this commodity is diſpenſed by thoſe who deal in it in London, I cannot paſs on without throwing forth an obſervation or two, with the ſame view with which I have ſcattered my ſeveral remarks through this voyage, ſufficiently ſatisfied in having finiſhed my life, as I have, probably loſt it, in the ſervice of my country, from the beſt of motives, tho' it ſhould be attended with the worſt of ſucceſs. Ends are always in our power; means are very ſeldom ſo.

Of all the animal foods with which man is furniſhed, there are none ſo plenty as fiſh. A little rivulet, that glides almoſt unperceived through a vaſt tract of rich land, will ſupport more hundreds with the fleſh of its inhabitants than the meadow will nouriſh individuals.

dividuals. But if this be true of rivers, it is much truer of the ſea ſhores, which abound with ſuch immenſe variety of fiſh, that the curious fiſherman, after he hath made his draught, often culls only the daintieſt part, and leaves the reſt of his prey to periſh on the ſhore.

If this be true, it would appear, I think, that there is nothing which might be had in ſuch abundance, and conſequently ſo cheap, as fiſh, of which nature ſeems to have provided ſuch inexhauſtible ſtores with ſome peculiar deſign. In the production of terreſtrial animals, ſhe proceeds with ſuch ſlowneſs, that in the larger kind, a ſingle female ſeldom produces more than one a year, and this again requires three, four, or five years more to bring it to perfection. And tho' the leſſer quadrupeds, thoſe of the wild kind particularly, with the birds, do multiply much faſter, yet can none of theſe bear any proportion with the aquatic

animals, of whom every female matrix is furniſhed with an annual offspring, almoſt exceeding the power of numbers, and which, in many inſtances at leaſt, a ſingle year is capable of bringing to ſome degree of maturity.

WHAT then ought in general to be ſo plentiful, what ſo cheap as fiſh? What then ſo properly the food of the poor? So in many places they are, and ſo might they always be in great cities, which are always ſituated near the ſea, or on the conflux of large rivers. How comes it then, to look no farther abroad for inſtances, that in our city of London the caſe is ſo far otherwiſe, that except that of ſprats, there is not one poor palate in a hundred that knows the taſte of fiſh.

IT is true, indeed, that this taſte is generally of ſuch excellent flavour, that it exceeds the power of French cookery to treat the palates of the rich with any thing more exquiſitely deli-

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cate; ſo that was fiſh the common food of the poor, it might put them too much upon an equality with their betters, in the great article of eating, in which, at preſent, in the opinion of ſome, the great difference in happineſs between man and man conſiſts. But this argument I ſhall treat with the utmoſt diſdain: for if ortolans were as big as buſtards, and at the ſame time as plenty as ſparrows, I ſhould hold it yet reaſonable to indulge the poor with the dainty, and that for this cauſe eſpecially, that the rich would ſoon find a ſparrow, if as ſcarce as an ortolan, to be much the greater, as it would certainly be the rarer dainty of the two.

VANITY or ſcarcity will be always the favourite of luxury, but honeſt hunger will be ſatisfied with plenty. Not to ſearch deeper into the cauſe of the evil, I ſhall think it abundantly ſufficient to propoſe the remedies of it. And, firſt, I humbly ſubmit the abſolute neceſſity of immediately hanging

all the fiſhmongers within the bills of mortality; and however it might have been ſome time ago the opinion of mild and temporizing men, that the evil complained of might be removed by gentler methods, I ſuppoſe at this day there are none who do not ſee the impoſſibility of uſing ſuch with any effect. *Cuncta prius tentanda* might have been formerly urged with ſome plauſibility, but *Cuncta prius tentata* may now be replied: for ſurely if a few monopolizing fiſhmongers could defeat that excellent ſcheme of the Weſtminſter market, to the erecting which ſo many juſtices of peace, as well as other wiſe and learned men, did ſo vehemently apply themſelves, that they might be truly ſaid not only to have laid the whole ſtrength of their heads, but of their ſhoulders too, to the buſineſs, it would be a vain endeavour for any other body of men to attempt to remove ſo ſtubborn a nuſance.

If it ſhould be doubted, whether we can bring this caſe within the letter of any captital law now ſubſiſting? I am aſhamed to own it cannot; for ſurely no crime better deſerves ſuch puniſhment; but the remedy may, nevertheleſs, be immediate, and if a law was made the beginning of next ſeſſions, to take place immediately, by which the ſtarving thouſands of poor was declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy, the fiſhmongers would be hanged before the end of the ſeſſions.

A SECOND method of filling the mouths of the poor, if not with loaves, at leaſt with fiſhes, is to deſire the magiſtrates to carry into execution one, at leaſt, out of near a hundred acts of parliament, for preſerving the ſmall fry of the river of Thames, by which means as few fiſh would ſatisfy thouſands, as may now be devoured by a ſmall number of individuals. But while a fiſherman can break through the ſtrongeſt

meſhes of an act of parliament, we may be aſſured he will learn ſo to contrive his own meſhes, that the ſmalleſt fry will not be able to ſwim through them.

OTHER methods may, we doubt not, be ſuggeſted by thoſe who ſhall attentively conſider the evil here hinted at; but we have dwelt too long on it already, and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that it is difficult to affirm, whether the atrocity of the evil itſelf, the facility of curing it, or the ſhameful neglect of the cure, be the more ſcandalous, or more aſtoniſhing.

AFTER having, however, glorioufly regaled myſelf with this food, I was waſhing it down with ſome good claret, with my wife and her friend in the cabin, when the captain returned from his viſit a little elevated with ſome champaign, which, as it coſt his Swiſs brother little or nothing, he diſpenſed at his table more liberally than our hoſ-

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pitable Engliſh nobleman put about thoſe bottles, which the ingenious Peter Taylor teaches a led captain to avoid, by diſtinguiſhing by the name of that generous liquor, which all humble companions are taught to poſtpone to the flavour of Methuen, or honeſt Port.

HOWEVER, our commander being, as I obſerved, in great ſpirits, we ſpent the reſt of this day with much chearfulneſs, the ladies being a little recovered from their ſea-ſickneſs.

Wedneſday the 20th. THIS morning the captain dreſt himſelf in ſcarlet, in order to pay a viſit to a Devonſhire ſquire, to whom a captain of a ſhip is a gueſt of no ordinary conſequence, as he is a ſtranger and a gentleman who hath ſeen a great deal of the world in foreign parts and knows all the news of the times.

THE ſquire, therefore, was to ſend his boat for the captain; but a moſt unfortunate accident happened: for, as

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the wind was extremely rough, and againſt the hoy, while this was endeavouring to avail itſelf of great ſeamanſhip, in hawling up againſt the wind, a ſudden ſquall carried off ſail and yard; or, at leaſt, ſo diſabled them, that they were no longer of any uſe, and unable to reach the ſhip: but the captain, from the deck, ſaw his hopes of veniſon diſappointed, and was forced either to ſtay on board his ſhip, or to hoiſt forth his own long-boat, which he could not prevail with himſelf to think of, tho' the ſmell of the veniſon had had twenty times its attraction. He did, indeed, love his ſhip as his wife, and his boats as children, and never willingly truſted the latter, poor things! to the dangers of the ſeas.

To ſay truth, notwithſtanding the ſtrict rigour with which he preſerved the dignity of his ſtation, and the haſty impatience with which he reſented any affront to his perſon or orders, diſobedience to which he could in no inſtance

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bruik in any perſon on board, he was one of the beſt natur'd fellows alive. He acted the part of a father to his ſailors; he expreſſed great tenderneſs for any of them when ill, and never ſuffered any the leaſt work of ſupererogation to go unrewarded by a glaſs of gin. He even extended his humanity, if I may ſo call it, to animals, and even his cats and kittens had large ſhares in his affections. An inſtance of which we ſaw this evening, when the cat, which had ſhewn it could not be drowned, was found ſuffocated under a feather-bed in the cabin, upon which occaſion he expreſt a concern which teſtified great goodneſs of heart. Nay, he carried his fondneſs even to inanimate objects, of which we have above ſet down a pregnant example, in his demonſtration of love and tenderneſs towards his boats and ſhip. He ſpoke of a ſhip which he had commanded formerly, and which was long ſince no more, which he had called the Princeſs of Braſil, as a widower of a deceaſed wife. This ſhip, after having

having followed the honeſt buſineſs of carrying goods and paſſengers for hire many years, did at laſt take to evil courſes and turn privateer, in which ſervice, to uſe his own words, ſhe received many dreadful wounds, which he himſelf had felt, as if they had been his own.

Thurſday. As the wind did not yeſterday diſcover any purpoſe of ſhifting, and the water in my belly grew troubleſom, and rendered me ſhort-breathed; I began a ſecond time to have apprehenſions of wanting the aſſiſtance of a trochar, when none was to be found: I therefore concluded to be tapped again, by way of precaution; and accordingly I this morning ſummoned on board a ſurgeon from a neighbouring pariſh, one whom the captain greatly recommended, and who did indeed perform his office with much dexterity. He was, I believe likewiſe, a man of great judgment and knowledge in the profeſſion; but of this I cannot ſpeak

with

with perfect certainty; for when he was going to open on the dropsy at large, and on the particular degree of the distemper under which I laboured, I was obliged to stop him short, for the wind was changed, and the captain in the utmost hurry to depart; and to desire him, instead of his opinion, to assist me with his execution.

I WAS now once more delivered from my burthen, which was not indeed so great as I had apprehended, wanting two quarts of what was let out at the last operation.

WHILE the surgeon was drawing away my water, the sailors were drawing up the anchor; both were finished at the same time, we unfurled our sails, and soon passed the Berry-head, which forms the mouth of the bay.

WE had not however sailed far, when the wind, which had, tho' with a slow pace, kept us company about six miles, suddenly

ſuddenly turned about, and offered to conduct us back again: a favour, which, tho' ſorely againſt the grain, we were obliged to accept.

NOTHING remarkable happened this day; for as to the perſuaſion of the captain, that he was under the ſpell of witchcraft, I would not repeat it too often, leſt any one ſhould imagine, that he had real faith in witches: but the truth was, his patience, which he had before compared to that of Job, was wore out, tho' indeed he talked of nothing elſe, and ſeemed not only to be ſatisfied in general of his being bewitched, but actually to have fixed, with good certainty, on the perſon of the witch, whom, if he had lived in the days of Sir Matthew Hale, he would have infallibly indicted, and very poſſibly have hanged for the deteſtable ſin of witchcraft. But that law, and the whole doctrine that ſupported it, are now out of faſhion; and witches, as a learned divine once choſe to expreſs himſelf, are

are put down by act of parliament. This witch, in the captain's opinion, was no other than Mrs. Humphrys, of Ryde, who, as he inſinuated, out of anger to me, for not ſpending more money in her houſe than ſhe could produce any thing to exchange for, or any pretence to charge for, had laid this ſpell on his ſhip.

Tho' we were again got near our harbour by three in the afternoon, yet it ſeemed to require a full hour or more, before we could come to our former place of anchoring, or birth, as the captain called it. On this occaſion we exemplified one of the few advantages, which the travellers by water have over the travellers by land. What would the latter often give for the ſight of one of thoſe hoſpitable manſions, where he is aſſured, *that there is good entertainment for man and horſe*; and where both may conſequently promiſe themſelves to aſſuage that hunger which exerciſe

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is ſo ſure to raiſe in a healthy conſtitution.

At their arrival at this manſion, how much happier is the ſtate of the horſe than that of the maſter? The former is immediately led to his repaſt, ſuch as it is, and whatever it is, he falls to it with appetite. But the latter is in a much worſe ſituation. His hunger, however violent, is always in ſome degree delicate, and his food muſt have ſome kind of ornament, or as the more uſual phraſe is, of dreſſing, to recommend it. Now all dreſſing requires time; and therefore, tho' perhaps, the ſheep might be juſt killed before you came to the inn, yet in cutting him up, fetching the joint, which the landlord by miſtake ſaid he had in the houſe, from the butcher at two miles diſtance, and afterwards warming it a little by the fire, two hours at leaſt muſt be conſumed, while hunger, for want of better food, preys all the time on the vitals of the man.

How

How different was the caſe with us? we carried our proviſion, our kitchen, and our cook with us, and we were at one and the ſame time travelling on our road, and ſitting down to a repaſt of fiſh, with which the greateſt table in London can ſcarce at any rate be ſupplied.

Friday. As we were diſappointed of our wind, and obliged to return back the preceding evening, we reſolved to extract all the good we could out of our misfortune, and to add conſiderably to our freſh ſtores of meat and bread, with which we were very indifferently provided when we hurried away yeſterday. By the captain's advice we likewiſe laid in ſome ſtores of butter, which we ſalted and potted ourſelves, for our uſe at Liſbon, and we had great reaſon afterwards to thank him for his advice.

In the afternoon, I perſuaded my wife, whom it was no eaſy matter for me to force from my ſide, to take a walk on ſhore,

ſhore, whither the gallant captain declared he was ready to attend her. Accordingly, the ladies ſet out, and left me to enjoy a ſweet and comfortable nap after the operation of the preceding day.

THUS we enjoyed our ſeparate pleaſures full three hours, when we met again; and my wife gave the foregoing account of the gentleman, whom I have before compared to Axylus, and of his habitation, to both which ſhe had been introduced by the captain, in the ſtile of an old friend and acquaintance.

Saturday. EARLY this morning the wind ſeemed inclined to change in our favour. Our alert captain ſnatched its very firſt motion, and got under ſail with ſo very gentle a breeze, that as the tide was againſt him, he recommended to a fiſhing-hoy to bring after him a vaſt ſalmon, and ſome other proviſions which lay ready for him on ſhore.

OUR

Our anchor was up at ſix, and before nine in the morning we had doubled the Berry-head, and were arrived off Dartmouth, having gone full three miles in as many hours, in direct oppoſition to the tide, which only befriended us out of our harbour; and tho' the wind was, perhaps, our friend, it was ſo very ſilent, and exerted itſelf ſo little in our favour, that, like ſome cool partiſans, it was difficult to ſay whether it was with us or againſt us. The captain, however, declared the former to be the caſe, during the whole three hours; but at laſt he perceived his error; or rather, perhaps, this friend, which had hitherto wavered in chuſing his ſide, became now more determined. The captain then ſuddenly tacked about, and aſſerting that he was bewitched, ſubmitted to return to the place from whence he came. Now, though I am as free from ſuperſtition as any man breathing, and never did believe in witches, notwithſtanding all the excellent

lent arguments of my Lord Chief Juſtice Hale in their favour, and long before they were put down by act of parliament, yet by what power a ſhip of burthen ſhould ſail three miles againſt both wind and tide, I cannot conceive; unleſs there was ſome ſupernatural interpoſition in the caſe: nay, could we admit that the wind ſtood neuter, the difficulty would ſtill remain. So that we muſt of neceſſity conclude, that the ſhip was either bewinded or bewitched.

The captain, perhaps, had another meaning. He imagined himſelf, I believe, bewitched, becauſe the wind, inſtead of perſevering in its change in his favour, for change it certainly did that morning, ſhould ſuddenly return to its favourite ſtation, and blow him back towards the bay. But if this was his opinion, he ſoon ſaw cauſe to alter; for he had not meaſured half the way back, when the wind again declared in his favour, and ſo loudly that there was no poſſibility of being miſtaken.

THE orders for the second tack were given, and obeyed with much more alacrity, than those had been for the first. We were all of us indeed in high spirits on the occasion; though some of us a little regreted the good things we were likely to leave behind us by the fisherman's neglect: I might give it a worse name, for he faithfully promised to execute the commission, which he had had abundant opportunity to do; but *Nautica fides* deserves as much to be proverbial, as ever *Punica fides* could formerly have done. Nay, when we consider that the Carthaginians came from the Phenicians, who are supposed to have produced the first mariners, we may probably see the true reason of the adage, and it may open a field of very curious discoveries to the antiquarian.

WE were, however, too eager to pursue our voyage, to suffer any thing we left behind us to interrupt our happi-

neſs, which indeed many agreeable circumſtances conſpired to advance. The weather was inexpreſſibly pleaſant, and we were all ſeated on the deck, when our canvas began to ſwell with the wind. We had likewiſe in our view above thirty other ſail around us, all in the ſame ſituation. Here an obſervation occurred to me which, perhaps, though extremely obvious, did not offer itſelf to every individual in our little fleet: when I perceived with what different ſucceſs we proceeded, under the influence of a ſuperior power, which while we lay almoſt idle ourſelves, puſhed us forward on our intended voyage, and compared this with the ſlow progreſs which we had made in the morning, of ourſelves and without any ſuch aſſiſtance, I could not help reflecting how often the greateſt abilities lie windbound as it were in life; or if they venture out, and attempt to beat the ſeas, they ſtruggle in vain againſt wind and tide; and if they have not ſufficient prudence to put back, are moſt probably

probably caſt away on the rocks and quickſands, which are every day ready to devour them.

It was now our fortune to ſet out *melioribus avibus*. The wind freſhned ſo briſkly in our poop, that the ſhore appeared to move from us, as faſt as we did from the ſhore. The captain declared he was ſure of a wind, meaning its continuance; but he had diſappointed us ſo often, that he had loſt all credit. However, he kept his word a little better now, and we loſt ſight of our native land, as joyfully, at leaſt, as it is uſual to regain it.

Sunday. The next morning, the captain told me he thought himſelf thirty miles to the weſtward of Plymouth, and before evening declared that the Lizard point, which is the extremity of Cornwall, bore ſeveral leagues to leeward. Nothing remarkable paſt this day, except the captain's devotion, who, in his own phraſe,

ſummoned all hands to prayers, which were read by a common ſailor upon deck, with more devout force and addreſs, than they are commonly read by a country curate, and received with more decency and attention by the ſailors than are uſually preſerved in city congregations. I am, indeed, aſſured that if any ſuch affected diſregard of the ſolemn office in which they were engaged, as I have ſeen practiſed by fine gentlemen and ladies, expreſſing a kind of apprehenſion leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of being really in earneſt in their devotion, had been ſhewn here, they would have contracted the contempt of the whole audience. To ſay the truth, from what I obſerved in the behaviour of the ſailors in this voyage, and on comparing it with what I have formerly ſeen of them at ſea and on ſhore, I am convinced that on land there is nothing more idle and diſſolute; in their own element, there are no perſons near the level of their degree, who live in the conſtant practice of half ſo many

many good qualities. They are, for much the greater part, perfect maſters of their buſineſs, and always extremely alert, and ready in executing it, without any regard to fatigue or hazard. The ſoldiers themſelves are not better diſciplined, nor more obedient to orders than theſe whilſt aboard; they ſubmit to every difficulty which attends their calling with chearfulneſs, and no leſs virtues than patience and fortitude are exerciſed by them every day of their lives.

All theſe good qualities, however, they always leave behind them on ſhip-board: the ſailor out of water is, indeed, as wretched an animal as the fiſh out of water; for tho' the former hath in common with amphibious animals the bare power of exiſting on the land, yet if he be kept there any time, he never fails to become a nuſance.

The ſhip having had a good deal of motion ſince ſhe was laſt under ſail, our

women returned to their ſickneſs, and I to my ſolitude; having, for twenty-four hours together, ſcarce opened my lips to a ſingle perſon. This circumſtance of being ſhut up within the circumference of a few yards, with a ſcore of human creatures, with not one of whom it was poſſible to converſe, was perhaps ſo rare, as ſcarce ever to have happened before, nor could it ever happen to one who diſliked it more than myſelf, or to myſelf at a ſeaſon when I wanted more food for my ſocial diſpoſition. To this accident, which fortune opened to me in the Downs, was owing the firſt ſerious thought which I ever entertained of enroling myſelf among the voyage-writers; ſome of the moſt amuſing pages, if indeed there be any which deſerve that name, were poſſibly the production of the moſt diſagreeable hours which ever haunted the author.

Monday. AT noon the captain took an obſervation, by which it appeared that

that Uſhant bore ſome leagues northward of us, and that we were juſt entering the bay of Biſcay. We had advanced a very few miles in this bay before we were entirely becalmed; we furl'd our ſails, as being of no uſe to us, while we lay in this moſt diſagreeable ſituation, more deteſted by the ſailors than the moſt violent tempeſt: we were alarmed with the loſs of a fine piece of ſalt beef, which had been hung in the ſea to freſhen it; this being, it ſeems, the ſtrange property of ſalt water. The thief was immediately ſuſpected, and preſently afterwards taken by the ſailors. He was indeed no other than a huge ſhark, who, not knowing when he was well off, ſwallowed another piece of beef, together with a great iron crook on which it was hung, and by which he was dragged into the ſhip.

I SHOULD ſcarce have mentioned the catching this ſhark, though ſo exactly conformable to the rules and practice

of voyage-writing, had it not been for a ſtrange circumſtance that attended it. This was the recovery of the ſtolen beef out of the ſhark's maw, where it lay unchewed and undigeſted, and whence being conveyed into the pot, the fleſh, and the thief that had ſtoln it, joined together in furniſhing variety to the ſhip's crew.

DURING this calm we likewiſe found the maſt of a large veſſel, which the captain had thought had lain at leaſt three years in the ſea. It was ſtuck all over with a little ſhell-fiſh or reptile called a barnacle, and which probably are the prey of the rock-fiſh, as our captain calls it, aſſerting that it is the fineſt fiſh in the world; for which we are obliged to confide entirely in his taſte; for, though he ſtruck the fiſh with a kind of harping iron, and wounded him, I am convinced, to death, yet he could not poſſeſs himſelf of his body; but the poor wretch eſcaped to linger

linger out a few hours, with probably great torments.

In the evening our wind returned, and ſo briſkly, that we ran upwards of twenty leagues before the next day's [*Tueſday*'s] Obſervation, which brought us to lat. 47°. 42′. The captain promiſed us a very ſpeedy paſſage through the bay; but he deceived us, or the wind deceived him, for it ſo ſlackened at ſun-ſet, that it ſcarce carried us a mile in an hour during the whole ſucceeding night.

Wedneſday. A GALE ſtruck up a little after ſun-riſing, which carried us between three or four knots or miles an hour. We were this day at noon about the middle of the bay of Biſcay, when the wind once more deſerted us, and we were ſo entirely becalmed, that we did not advance a mile in many hours. My freſh-water reader will perhaps conceive no unpleaſant idea from this calm; but it affected us much

more than a ſtorm could have done; for as the iraſcible paſſions of men are apt to ſwell with indignation long after the injury which firſt raiſed them is over, ſo fared it with the ſea. It roſe mountains high, and lifted our poor ſhip up and down, backwards and forwards, with ſo violent an emotion, that there was ſcarce a man in the ſhip better able to ſtand than myſelf. Every utenſil in our cabin rolled up and down, as we ſhould have rolled ourſelves, had not our chairs been faſt laſhed to the floor. In this ſituation, with our tables likewiſe faſtened by ropes, the captain and myſelf took our meal with ſome difficulty, and ſwallowed a little of our broth, for we ſpilt much the greater part. The remainder of our dinner being an old lean, tame duck roaſted, I regreted but little the loſs of, my teeth not being good enough to have chewed it.

Our women, who began to creep out of their holes in the morning, retired again

again within the cabin to their beds, and were no more heard of this day, in which my whole comfort was to find, by the captain's relation, that the ſwelling was ſometimes much worſe; he did, indeed, take this occaſion to be more communicative than ever, and informed me of ſuch miſadventures that had befallen him within forty-ſix years at ſea, as might frighten a very bold ſpirit from undertaking even the ſhorteſt voyage. Were theſe indeed but univerſally known, our matrons of quality would poſſibly be deterred from venturing their tender offspring at ſea; by which means our navy would loſe the honour of many a young commodore, who at twenty-two is better verſed in maritime affairs than real ſeamen are made by experience at ſixty.

And this may, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, as the education of both ſeems to be pretty much the ſame; neither of them having had their courage tried by Virgil's deſcription of a

ſtorm, in which, inſpired as he was, I doubt whether our captain doth not exceed him.

In the evening the wind, which continued in the N. W. again freſhened, and that ſo briſkly that cape Finiſter appeared by this day's obſervation to bear a few miles to the ſouthward. We now indeed ſailed, or rather flew, near ten knots an hour; and the captain, in the redundancy of his good humour, declared he would go to church at Liſbon on Sunday next, for that he was ſure of a wind; and indeed we all firmly believed him. But the event again contradicted him: for we were again viſited by a calm in the evening.

But here, tho' our voyage was retarded, we were entertained with a ſcene which as no one can behold without going to ſea, ſo no one can form an idea of any thing equal to it on ſhore. We were ſeated on the deck, women and

and all, in the ſereneſt evening that can be imagined. Not a ſingle cloud preſented itſelf to our view, and the ſun himſelf was the only object which engroſſed our whole attention. He did indeed ſet with a majeſty which is incapable of deſcription, with which, while the horizon was yet blazing with glory, our eyes were called off to the oppoſite part to ſurvey the moon, which was then at full, and which in riſing preſented us with the ſecond object that this world hath offered to our viſion. Compared to theſe the pageantry of theatres, or ſplendor of courts, are ſights almoſt below the regard of children.

We did not return from the deck till late in the evening: the weather being inexpreſſibly pleaſant, and ſo warm, that even my old diſtemper perceived the alteration of the climate. There was indeed a ſwell, but nothing comparable to what we had felt before, and

it affected us on the deck much leſs than in the cabin.

Friday. THE calm continued till ſunriſing, when the wind likewiſe aroſe; but, unluckily for us, it came from a wrong quarter: it was S. S. E. which is that very wind which Juno would have ſolicited of Æolus, had Æneas been in our latitude bound for Liſbon.

THE captain now put on his moſt melancholy aſpect, and reſumed his former opinion, that he was bewitched. He declared, with great ſolemnity, that this was worſe and worſe, for that a wind directly in his teeth was worſe than no wind at all. Had we purſued the courſe which the wind perſuaded us to take, we had gone directly for Newfoundland, if we had not fallen in with Ireland in our way. Two ways remained to avoid this; one was to put into a port of Galicia; the other, to beat to the weſtward with as little ſail

as

as poſſible; and this was our captain's election.

As for us, poor paſſengers, any port would have been welcome to us; eſpecially as not only our freſh proviſions, except a great number of old ducks and fowls, but even our bread was come to an end, and nothing but ſea biſcuit remained, which I could not chew. So that now, for the firſt time in my life, I ſaw what it was to want a bit of bread.

The wind, however, was not ſo unkind as we had apprehended; but having declined with the ſun, it changed at the approach of the moon, and became again favourable to us; tho' ſo gentle, that the next day's obſervation carried us very little to the ſouthward of cape Finiſter. This evening at ſix the wind, which had been very quiet all day, roſe very high, and continuing in our favour, drove us ſeven knots an hour.

This

THIS day we ſaw a ſail, the only one, as I heard of, we had ſeen in our whole paſſage through the bay. I mention this on account of what appeared to me ſomewhat extraordinary. Tho' ſhe was at ſuch a diſtance that I could only perceive ſhe was a ſhip, the ſailors diſcovered ſhe was a ſnow bound to a port in Galicia.

Sunday. AFTER prayers, which our good captain read on the deck with an audible voice, we found ourſelves far advanced in 42°, and the captain declared we ſhould ſup off Porte. We had not much wind this day; but, as this was directly in our favour, we made it up with ſail, of which we crowded all we had. We went only at the rate of four miles an hour, but with ſo uneaſy a motion, continually rolling from ſide to ſide, that I ſuffered more than I had done in our whole voyage; my bowels being almoſt twiſted out of my belly. However, the day was very ſe-

rene

rene and bright, and the captain, who was in high ſpirits, affirmed he had never paſſed a pleaſanter at ſea.

THE wind continued ſo briſk that we ran upward of ſix knots an hour the whole night.

Monday. IN the morning, our captain concluded that he was got into lat. 40°, and was very little ſhort of the Burlings, as they are called in the charts. We came up with them at five in the afternoon, being the firſt land we had diſtinctly ſeen ſince we left Devonſhire. They conſiſt of abundance of little rocky iſlands, a little diſtant from the ſhore, three of them only ſhewing themſelves above the water.

HERE the Portugueſe maintain a kind of garriſon, if we may allow it that name. It conſiſts of malefactors, who are baniſhed hither for a term, for divers ſmall offences. A policy which they may have copied from the Egyptians,

tians, as we may read in Diodorus Siculus. That wiſe people, to prevent the corruption of good manners by evil communication, built a town on the Red Sea, whither they tranſported a great number of their criminals, having firſt ſet an indelible mark on them, to prevent their returning and mixing with the ſober part of their citizens.

THESE rocks lie about fifteen leagues north-weſt of cape Roxent; or, as it is commonly called, the rock of Liſbon; which we paſt early the next morning. The wind, indeed, would have carried us thither ſooner; but the captain was not in a hurry. This is a very high mountain, ſituated on the northern ſide of the mouth of the river Tajo, which riſing above Madrid, in Spain, and ſoon becoming navigable for ſmall craft, empties itſelf, after a long courſe, into the ſea, about four leagues below Liſbon.

ON

On the ſummit of the rock ſtands a hermitage, which is now in the poſſeſſion of an Engliſhman, who was formerly maſter of a veſſel trading to Liſbon; and, having changed his religion and his manners, the latter of which, at leaſt, were none of the beſt, betook himſelf to this place, in order to do penance for his ſins. He is now very old, and hath inhabited this hermitage for a great number of years, during which he hath received ſome countenance from the royal family; and particularly from the late queen dowager, whoſe piety refuſes no trouble or expence by which ſhe may make a proſelyte; being uſed to ſay, that the ſaving one ſoul would repay all the endeavours of her life.

Here we waited for the tide, and had the pleaſure of ſurveying the face of the country, the ſoil of which, at this ſeaſon, exactly reſembles an old brick kill, or a field where the green-

ſward

ſward is pared up and ſet a-burning or rather a-ſmoaking, in little heaps, to manure the land. This ſight will, perhaps, of all others, make an Engliſhman proud of and pleaſed with his own country, which in verdure excels, I believe, every other country. Another deficiency here, is, the want of large trees, nothing above a ſhrub being here to be diſcovered in the circumference of many miles.

At this place we took a pilot on board, who, being the firſt Portugueſe we ſpoke to, gave us an inſtance of that religious obſervance which is paid by all nations to their laws: for, whereas it is here a capital offence to aſſiſt any perſon in going on ſhore from a foreign veſſel, before it hath been examined, and every perſon in it viewed by the magiſtrates of health, as they are called, this worthy pilot, for a very ſmall reward, rowed the Portugueſe prieſt to ſhore at this place, beyond which he did not dare to advance; and, in venturing

turing whither he had given ſufficient teſtimony of love for his native country.

We did not enter the Tajo till noon, when after paſſing ſeveral old caſtles, and other buildings, which had greatly the aſpect of ruins, we came to the caſtle of Belliſle, where we had a full proſpect of Liſbon, and were indeed within three miles of it.

Here we were ſaluted with a gun, which was a ſignal to paſs no farther, till we had complied with certain ceremonies, which the laws of this country require to be obſerved by all ſhips which arrive in this port. We were obliged then to caſt anchor, and expect the arrival of the officers of the cuſtoms, without whoſe paſſport no ſhip muſt proceed farther than this place.

Here likewiſe we received a viſit from one of thoſe magiſtrates of health before-mentioned. He refuſed to come

on

on board the ſhip, till every perſon in her had been drawn up on deck, and perſonally viewed by him. This occaſioned ſome delay on my part, as it was not the work of a minute to lift me from the cabin to the deck. The captain thought my particular caſe might have been excuſed from this ceremony; and that it would be abundantly ſufficient if the magiſtrate, who was obliged afterwards to viſit the cabin, ſurveyed me there. But this did not ſatisfy the magiſtrate's ſtrict regard to his duty. When he was told of my lameneſs, he called out with a voice of authority, 'Let him be brought up,' and his orders were preſently complied with. He was indeed a perſon of great dignity, as well as of moſt exact fidelity in the diſcharge of his truſt. Both which are the more admirable, as his ſalary is leſs than 30 l. Engliſh *per annum*.

BEFORE a ſhip hath been viſited by one of thoſe magiſtrates, no perſon can lawfully

lawfully go on board her; nor can any on board depart from her. This I ſaw exemplified in a remarkable inſtance. The young lad, whom I have mentioned as one of our paſſengers, was here met by his father, who, on the firſt news of the captain's arrival, came from Liſbon to Belliſle in a boat, being eager to embrace a ſon whom he had not ſeen for many years. But when he came along-ſide our ſhip, neither did the father dare aſcend, nor the ſon deſcend, as the magiſtrate of health had not been yet on board.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, admire the great caution of this policy, ſo nicely calculated for the preſervation of this country from all peſtilential diſtempers. Others will as probably regard it as too exact and formal to be conſtantly perſiſted in, in ſeaſons of the utmoſt ſafety, as well as in times of danger. I will not decide either way; but will content myſelf with obſerving, that I never yet ſaw or heard of a place

where a traveller had ſo much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only uſe of which, as all ſuch matters begin and end in form only, is to put it into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious, or groſsly corrupt, as they ſhall ſee occaſion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice.

Of this kind, likewiſe, is that power which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of ſnuff, and every leaf of tobacco, brought hither from other countries, tho' only for the temporary uſe of the perſon, during his reſidence here. This is executed with great inſolence, and as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very ſcandalouſly: for, under pretence of ſearching for tobacco and ſnuff, they are ſure to ſteal whatever they can find, inſomuch that when they came on board, our ſailors addreſs'd us in the Covent-Garden language, 'Pray, gentlemen 'and ladies, take care of your ſwords

'and

'and watches.' Indeed I never yet ſaw any thing equal to the contempt and hatred which our honeſt tars every moment expreſs'd for theſe Portugueſe officers.

At Belliſle lies buried Catherine of Arragon, widow of Prince Arthur, eldeſt ſon of our Henry VII. afterwards married to, and divorced from, Henry VIII. Cloſe by the church where her remains are depoſited, is a large convent of Geronymites, one of the moſt beautiful piles of building in all Portugal.

In the night at twelve, our ſhip having received previous viſits from all the neceſſary parties, took the advantage of the tide, and having ſailed up to Liſbon, caſt anchor there, in a calm, and a moonſhiny night, which made the paſſage incredibly pleaſant to the women, who remained three hours enjoying it, whilſt I was left to the cooler tranſports of enjoying their plea-

ſures at ſecond-hand; and yet, cooler as they may be, whoever is totally ignorant of ſuch ſenſation, is, at the ſame time, void of all ideas of friendſhip.

Wedneſday. LISBON, before which we now lay at anchor, is ſaid to be built on the ſame number of hills with old Rome; but theſe do not all appear to the water; on the contrary, one ſees from thence one vaſt high hill and rock, with buildings ariſing above one another, and that in ſo ſteep and almoſt perpendicular a manner, that they all ſeem to have but one foundation.

As the houſes, convents, churches, &c. are large, and all built with white ſtone, they look very beautiful at a diſtance; but as you approach nearer, and find them to want every kind of ornament, all idea of beauty vaniſhes at once. While I was ſurveying the proſpect of this city, which bears ſo little reſemblance

reſemblance to any other that I have ever ſeen, a reflection occurred to me, that if a man was ſuddenly to be removed from Palmyra hither, and ſhould take a view of no other city, in how glorious a light would the antient architecture appear to him? and what deſolation and deſtruction of arts and ſciences would he conclude had happened between the ſeveral æras of theſe cities?

I HAD now waited full three hours upon deck, for the return of my man, whom I had ſent to beſpeak a good dinner (a thing which had been long unknown to me) on ſhore, and then to bring a Liſbon chaiſe with him to the ſea-ſhore; but, it ſeems, the impertinence of the providore was not yet brought to a concluſion. At three o'clock, when I was from emptineſs rather faint than hungry, my man returned, and told me, there was a new law lately made, that no paſſenger ſhould ſet his foot on ſhore without a

ſpecial order from the providore; and that he himſelf would have been ſent to priſon for diſobeying it, had he not been protected as the ſervant of the captain. He informed me likewiſe, that the captain had been very induſtrious to get this order, but that it was then the providore's hour of ſleep, a time when no man, except the king himſelf, durſt diſturb him.

To avoid prolixity, tho' in a part of my narrative which may be more agreeable to my reader than it was to me, the providore having at laſt finiſhed his nap, diſpatched this abſurd matter of form, and gave me leave to come, or rather to be carried, on ſhore.

What it was that gave the firſt hint of this ſtrange law is not eaſy to gueſs. Poſſibly, in the infancy of their defection, and before their government could be well eſtabliſhed, they were willing to guard againſt the bare poſſibility of ſurprize, of the ſucceſs of which bare poſſibility

poſſibility the Trojan horſe will remain for ever on record, as a great and memorable example. Now the Portugueſe have no walls to ſecure them, and a veſſel of two or three hundred tuns will contain a much larger body of troops than could be concealed in that famous machine, tho' Virgil tells us (ſomewhat hyperbolically, I believe) that it was as big as a mountain.

About ſeven in the evening I got into a chaiſe on ſhore, and was driven through the naſtieſt city in the world, tho' at the ſame time one of the moſt populous, to a kind of coffee-houſe, which is very pleaſantly ſituated on the brow of a hill, about a mile from the city, and hath a very fine proſpect of the river Tajo from Liſbon to the ſea.

Here we regaled ourſelves with a good ſupper, for which we were as well charged, as if the bill had been made

on the Bath road, between Newbury and London.

AND now we could joyfully say,

Egressi optatâ Troes potiuntur arenâ.

Therefore in the words of Horace,

——*hic finis chartæq; viæq;*

A

FRAGMENT

OF A

COMMENT

ON

L. BOLINGBROKE'S ESSAYS.

A

FRAGMENT, &c.

I MUST confeſs myſelf to be one of thoſe who brought with me to the peruſal of the late publiſhed volumes of Lord Bolingbroke, a very high prejudice to the doctrines ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed in them; but at the ſame time, can as truly aſſert, that I had the higheſt, and ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſion in favour of the abilities of the author. Such, indeed, was this prepoſſeſſion, that it might, I think, be a ſufficient warrant of a man's candour againſt any prejudice whatever; and it is in the true ſpirit of this candour, that I declare, upon the peruſal,

I have found my prepoſſeſſions greatly abated, and my prejudices not in the leaſt removed.

Could it therefore be ſuppoſed, that all mankind were alike able to try the cauſe of truth, and to form their judgment on the weight of argument and evidence only, I think there could be no danger in leaving the deciſion of this matter upon his lordſhip's own reaſoning, without any attempt to anſwer him. But when we conſider how very weak the abilities of mankind in general are, in diſquiſitions of this nature; how much weaker they are rendered for this purpoſe by want of due attention; and, laſtly, how apt they are to carry any little partiality which they have pre-conceived before the examination of a cauſe, up to the final deciſion of it in their minds, it may poſſibly be very dangerous to the ſociety to ſuffer ſuch pernicious doctrines to ſtand unobjected to, with ſo great a name at their head. Many, I am convinced, will

will think the authority of this name alone ſufficient to eſtabliſh their own belief upon, without any farther inquiry at all. Many others will imagine very little inquiry neceſſary, and, tho' they did not entirely acquieſce in taking his word, will be eaſily cajoled with his reaſons, which, however little they may have of ſubſtance, have much of the ſpecious ornaments of wit and language, with all the allurements of novelty both of ſtyle and manner; and, finally, with an appearance, at leaſt, of reading, very ſingular and extenſive.

From which laſt particular may ariſe a third ſort very worthy of receiving ſome aſſiſtance on this occaſion; ſuch, I mean, as have not the leaſt inclination to his lordſhip's doctrines, nor would, indeed, aſſent to them on the authority of any man breathing, who may yet have wanted leiſure or opportunity ſufficient to provide themſelves with a proper fund of knowledge, to

give a ready anſwer to various aſſertions which will occur in the works now under conſideration, and which, tho' they have the worſt of tendencies, have in reality themſelves no better ſupport (and not always ſo good a one) than ſome very weak and ſlender hypotheſes and are at other times built on the revival of old chimerical principles, which have been confuted and exploded long ago.

Now, to all theſe different conſtitutions, we ſhall endeavour to apply our ſeveral antidotes. And here, luckily for us, we are provided with an argument which muſt moſt effectually ſilence thoſe, who are the moſt difficult of all others to be uſually dealt with, in the way of reaſoning: ſuch are the perſons I mentioned in the firſt claſs, who believe from authority only, and who have not yet, with the ſchools, given up the irreſiſtible argument of, he Himſelf ſaid it.

THE force of this argument, however, even in the days when it flouriſhed moſt, drew all its ſtrength from a ſuppoſition that, if he himſelf ſaid it, he himſelf believed it: for, if it could have been proved of Ariſtotle that he had aſſerted *pro* and *con*, and had with the ſame clearneſs affirmed in one part of his works the ſame thing to be, and in another the ſame thing not to be, none of his ſcholars would have known which he believed, and all others would, perhaps, have thought that he had no belief at all in, nor indeed any knowledge of the matter.

IF, therefore his lordſhip ſhall appear to have made uſe of this duplicity of aſſertion, and that not in one or two, but in many inſtances, may we not draw the like concluſions? Luckily, perhaps, for his lordſhip, we may not be driven to the ſame abſolute degree of uncertainty as muſt have reſulted from the caſe of Ariſtotle, as I have

put it above; ſince our noble author himſelf ſeems to have left us a kind of clue, which will ſufficiently lead to the diſcovery of his meaning, and will ſhew us, as often as he is pleaſed to aſſert both ſides of a contradiction, on which ſide we are to believe him.

And here I ſhall premiſe two cautions; one of which I ſhall borrow from the rules eſtabliſhed among writers; the reaſonableneſs of the other I ſhall endeavour to evince, from a rule given us by one of the greateſt lawyers whom this kingdom ever bred.

The firſt is, that of interpreting the ſenſe of an author with the utmoſt candour, ſo as not to charge him with any groſs and invidious meaning, when his words are ſuſceptible of a much more benign and favourable ſenſe.

The ſecond is, the obſervation formed upon the works of judge Littleton by lord chief juſtice Coke: this

is,

is, that whenever that great lawyer is pleaſed to put down two opinions directly contradicting each other, that the latter opinion is always the beſt, and always his own.

To apply theſe to the preſent purpoſe, I firſt of all recommend to the candour of the reader, that whenever he ſhall find two aſſertions directly contrary to each other, (and many ſuch we do promiſe to produce to him) one of which directly tends to take away all religion whatever, and the other as directly to eſtabliſh natural religion at leaſt, that he will be ſo kind, ſince it is impoſſible that my lord ſhould have believed both, to imagine that he rather believed the latter; eſpecially as this latter, from its contradicting the apparent purpoſe of the author, appears to have been laſt ſet down; and, conſequently, will have my lord Coke's ſanction in favour of the ſuperior authority.

LASTLY,

LASTLY, if it ſhould ever happen that his lordſhip's ſentiments ſhould be more clearly expreſſed in favour of the worſe than of the better doctrine, we will endeavour all that in us lies to explain and illuſtrate thoſe hints; by which, we truſt, he will always aſſiſt a careful and accurate examiner, in reſcuing the eſoteric purity of his doctrines from that leſs amiable appearance in which their exoteric garb repreſents them.

IN ſhort, we doubt not but to make it appear as a fact beyond all conteſt, that his lordſhip was in jeſt through the whole work which we have undertaken to examine. If an inflamed zealot ſhould, in his warmth, compare ſuch jeſting to his in the Pſalmiſt; or, if a cooler diſpoſition ſhould aſk, how it was poſſible to jeſt with matters of ſuch importance? I confeſs I have no defence againſt the accuſation, nor can give any ſatisfactory anſwer to the queſtion.

queſtion. To this, indeed, I could ſay, and it is all that I could ſay, that my lord Bolingbroke was a great genius, ſent into the world for great and aſtoniſhing purpoſes. That the ends, as well as means of action in ſuch perſonages, are above the comprehenſion of the vulgar. That his life was one ſcene of the Wonderful throughout. That, as the temporal happineſs, the civil liberties and properties of Europe, were the game of his earlieſt youth, there could be no ſport ſo adequate to the entertainment of his advanced age, as the eternal and final happineſs of all mankind. That this is the nobleſt conſervation of character, and might, if perceived in himſelf, poſſibly lead our great genius to ſee the ſupreme Being in the light of a dramatic poet, and that part of his works which we inhabit as a drama. 'The ſenſitive in-'habitants of our globe,' ſays lord Bolingbroke [a], 'like the *dramatis perſonæ*, 'have different characters, and are ap-

[a] Vol. V. p. 377.

'plied

'plied to different purpoſes of action in 'every ſcene. The ſeveral parts of the 'material world, like the machines of a 'theatre, were contrived not for the 'actors, but for the action: and the 'whole order and ſyſtem of the drama 'would be diſordered and ſpoiled, if 'any alteration was made in either. 'The nature of every creature, his 'manner of being, is adapted to his 'ſtate here, to the place he is to inha-'bit, and, as we may ſay, to the part 'he is to act.' It hath been, I think, too common with poets to aggrandize their profeſſion with ſuch kind of ſimiles, and I have, ſomewhere in an Engliſh dramatic writer, met with one ſo nearly reſembling the above, that his lordſhip might be almoſt ſuſpected to have read it likewiſe; but ſuch conceits are inconſiſtent with any (even the leaſt) pretence to philoſophy. I recollect, indeed, a ſingle inſtance, in the writings of Jordano Bruno, who was burnt at Rome for hereſy, or, if we believe Scioppius, for moſt horrid blaſphemy,

phemy, the latter end of the 15th century; and who, from a want of a due correſpondence between the paſſive powers of matter, and the active power of God, compares the Supreme Being to a fidler, who hath ſkill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is going ſomewhat farther; as much farther, in reality, as to deſcend from the ſtage to the orcheſtra. This ludicrous treatment of the Being ſo univerſally (for half a dozen madmen muſt not be allowed to ſtrip any opinion of univerſality) acknowledged to be the cauſe of all things, whilſt it ſounds ſo ill in the grave voice of reaſon, very well becomes the lips of a droll: for novelty, boldneſs, and even abſurdity, as they all tend to ſurprize, do often give a poignancy to wit, and ſerve to enhance a jeſt. This affords a ſecond reaſon why we may ſuſpect his lordſhip was not over ſerious in the work before us.

3dly,

3dly, That his lordſhip never thought proper to reviſe this performance, is a very ſtrong argument that he could not be in earneſt, either in believing himſelf in his own doctrines, or in endeavouring to imprint ſuch a belief on others. That he did not in fact reviſe his works is manifeſt, from the numerous contradictions that occur in them, and theſe often in the ſame page; ſo that, for the moſt part, they could not eſcape the dulleſt and bluntest degree of penetration: ſurely we cannot impute ſuch repeated overſights to one who hath ſo explicitly aſſerted, [a] That to be liable to contradict yourſelf, is to be liable to one of the greateſt of human imperfections! An author, in the firſt hurry of ſetting down his thoughts on a ſubject which warms him, may poſſibly, indeed, aſſert two opinions not perfectly reconcileable with each other; nay, there are ſome writers from whom we can reaſonably expect no leſs; ſince, as

[a] Eſſays, p. 181.

archbiſhop

archbiſhop Tillotſon obſerves, it is hard to contradict truth and nature, without contradicting one's ſelf. But to expunge ſuch miſtakes, is the office of reviſal and correction; and, therefore, a work in which theſe miſtakes abound, is very juſtly called an incorrect performance. As this work therefore doth, more than any which I ever ſaw, afford us inſtances of what his lordſhip calls the greateſt human imperfection, charity ſhews me no more candid way of accounting for them, than this which I have mentioned.

Lastly, the very form and title, under which the noble lord hath thought proper to introduce his philoſophy into the world, is a very ſtrong evidence of the juſtice of all the foregoing obſervations. We may form, I think, one general precept from the trite ſtory of Archimedes: this is, not to undertake any great work without preconcerting ſuch means as may be adequate to the execution. Now to turn the material world topſy-

topſy-turvy, is a project ſcarce more difficult in appearance, than to perform the ſame notable exploit in the intellectual. And yet Archimedes might as judiciouſly have fixed his machine in vacuo, as his lordſhip hath choſen to argue againſt the beſt eſtabliſhed ſyſtems in the intellectual world, in fragments of eſſays. This method, not to mention the indignity it offers to the ſubject in diſpute, is treating the whole body of the learned with more ſupercilious diſreſpect, than nature ſeems yet to have qualified any member of that body to expreſs towards the reſt of his brethren; and which muſt appear to be wonderful, if ſerious, in one who expreſſes ſo modeſt an opinion of his own critical talents; tho', as to his modeſty, it muſt indeed be confeſſed to be ſomewhat ſeaſoned with a due mixture of contempt.

But whatever may leſſen the idea of his lordſhip's modeſty, there is only one way to leſſen that of his abſurdity; this is to conclude that he was in jeſt: nay,

there

there is one way to ſee this abſurdity in an amiable light; for in ſuch a light will he appear, if we ſuppoſe that he puts on the jack-pudding's coat, with the noble view of expoſing and ridiculing thoſe pernicious tenets which have lately been propagated, with a zeal more difficult to be accounted for, than its ſucceſs.

That ſuch an attempt of expoſing any popular error would always prove victorious, is, I think, extremely probable. My lord Shaftſbury hath been blamed for ſaying, 'That ridicule is one 'of thoſe principal lights or natural me-'diums by which things are to be view-'ed, in order to a thorough recogniti-'on: for that truth, it is ſuppoſed, may 'bear all lights [a].' Perhaps there may be ſome juſtice in this cenſure, as truth may by ſuch a trial be ſubjected to miſrepreſentation, and become a more eaſy

[a] Eſſay on the freedom of wit and humour, part I. ſect. I.

prey

prey to the malice of its enemies; a flagrant inſtance of which we have in the caſe of Socrates.

But whatever objection there may be againſt trying truth by ridicule, there can be none, I apprehend, of making uſe of its aſſiſtance in expelling and baniſhing all falſhood and impoſture, when once fairly convicted, out of ſociety; and as this method is for this purpoſe very unexceptionable, ſo is it generally the moſt efficacious that can be invented, as will appear by ſome examples which will occur in the courſe of our comment on his lordſhip's eſſays, or fragments of eſſays, on which we ſhall now enter without further preface or apology.

SECT.

SECT. I.

AND here, as a proof that we are as liable to be corrupted by our books as by our companions, I am in danger of ſetting out with a contradiction. Nay I muſt yet venture to do this in ſome degree with my eyes open, and muſt lay my defence on a diſtinction rather too nice, and which relies too much on the candour of my reader.

THE truth is, our noble author's chief ſtrength lies in that very circumſtance which I have before aſſerted to be of itſelf alone a ſufficient argument of his weakneſs; whereas on the contrary his manner affords ſuch a protection to his matter, that if he had deſigned to reſerve to himſelf the ſole privilege of anſwering his own doctrine, he could not have invented a more ingenious or effectual contrivance. It hath been alledged as a good reaſon for not anſwer-

ing certain books, that one muſt be obliged firſt to read them; but ſurely we ſhall find few men ſo very charitable, or ſo much our friends, to give them order and method with a view only of complimenting them with an anſwer.

This, however, I attempted, tho' I own with no great ſucceſs; and that not ſo much, I apprehend, from want of ſufficient matter to make out ſuch colourable ſyſtems as may be expected in ſuch a writer, as from a certain dark, cautious, and looſe manner of expreſſing his ſentiments, which muſt ariſe either from a writer's deſire of not being very eaſily explained, or from an incapacity of making himſelf very clearly underſtood. The difficulties ariſing to the commentator on theſe fragments, will appear to be aſſignable only to the former cauſe: for a very indifferent reader will be ſeldom at a loſs in comprehending his lordſhip in his own works; but to transfer his doctrines with their authority (i. e. the *ipſe dixit* of the author)

thor) into another work, is often very difficult, and without long quotations, too apt to tire the reader, impoſſible. In this light a very fine thought of Mr. Pope's occurs to my memory.

Tho' index-learning turns no ſtudent pale,
It holds the eel of ſcience by the tail.

The beſt way then of proceeding with ſo ſlippery a reaſoner; the only way, indeed, in which I ſee any poſſibility of proceeding with him, is firſt to lay down ſome general rules, all of which will hereafter be proved out of his writings, and then purſuing him chapter by chapter, to extract the ſeveral proofs, however ſcattered and diſperſed, which tend to eſtabliſh both parts of the contradictions, which I ſhall now ſet down.

Our noble author ſets out in his firſt ſection, with a ſly inſinuation, that it is poſſible for the graveſt of philoſophers on the graveſt of ſubjects, to advance propoſitions in jeſt. 'It is more pro-

'bable,' says Lord B——, 'and it is 'more candid to believe, that this phi-'losopher (Descartes) was in earnest, 'than that he was in jest, when he ad-'vanced this proposition [a], *concerning the immutability and eternity of certain mathematical truths.* I will add, that I believe that an idea of such jesting had never any footing in a human head, till it first found admission into that of this noble lord.

In the same section, his lordship proceeds thus: 'The antients thought 'matter eternal, and assumed that the 'Demiurgus, or divine Architect, com-'posed the frame of the world with 'materials which were ready prepared, 'and independently on him, in a con-'fused chaos. Much in the same man-'ner such metaphysicians as the learned 'Cudworth have imagined a sort of in-'tellectual chaos, a chaos of eternal 'ideas, of incorporeal essences, inde-'pendent on God, self-existent, and

[a] Essays, page 4.

'there-

'therefore co-eval with the ſupreme 'Being, and therefore anterior to all 'other natures. In this intellectual 'chaos God ſees, and man muſt endea-'vour to ſee, the natures, the real 'eſſences of things: and thus the foun-'dations of morality are laid higher than 'the exiſtence of any moral agents, be-'fore there was any ſyſtem of being 'from which the obligations to it could 'reſult, or to which they could be ap-'plied: juſt as the ſame philoſophers 'ſuppoſe the incorporeal eſſences of 'white and black to have exiſted when 'there was no ſuch thing as colour, and 'thoſe of a ſquare and circle, when 'there was neither form nor figure[a].'

HERE I am afraid the learned peer hath gone no farther for his erudition than the firſt or ſecond pages of Ovid's Metamorphoſis: for could he be recall-ed from the dead, contrary to his own doctrine, as he hath recalled Deſcartes,

[a] Ibid, page 6.

and were aſked whom he meant by the antients, he could not certainly anſwer in general, the antient philoſophers, for then the whole tribe of atheiſts would be ready to teſtify againſt him. If he ſhould anſwer, that he meant the antient atheiſts only, and leſs he cannot be ſuppoſed to mean by thoſe who are well-bred enough to ſuppoſe he meant any thing, he will be far from finding even among theſe an univerſal concurrence with his opinion. Thales, the chief of the Grecian ſages, and who is ſaid to have firſt turned his thoughts to phyſiological enquiries, affirmed the independent pre-exiſtence of God from all eternity. The words of Laertius are remarkable, and I will render them with the moſt literal exactneſs in my power. He aſſerted, ſays Laertius, 'That God was the oldeſt of all beings, 'for he exiſted *without a previous cauſe* 'EVEN IN THE WAY OF GENERATION; 'that the world was the moſt beautiful 'of all things; for *it was* CREATED BY

'God,

'God, &c*.' This notion of the creation Ariſtotle tells us, was agreeable to the concurrent voice of all antiquity; 'All,' ſays he, 'aſſert the creation of 'the world; but they differ in this, that 'ſome will have the world ſuſceptible 'of diſſolution, which others deny †.' On this occaſion Ariſtotle names Empedocles and Heraclitus, but, which is ſomewhat remarkable, never mentions Thales. The opinion itſelf is oppoſed by the Stagyrite; and this oppoſition he was forced to maintain, or he muſt have given up the eternity of the world, which he very juſtly aſſerts to be inconſiſtent with any idea of its creation. But we will diſmiſs the antients from the bar, and ſee how his lordſhip will ſupport his arraignment of the moderns. The charge againſt them is, that they have holden certain ideas, or incorporeal eſ-

* Diog. Laert. lib. I. ſect. 35. where I ſubmit to the learned reader the conſtruction he will obſerve I have given to the different import of thoſe terms, ἀγέννητον and πόιημα; the firſt of which may be conſidered as a qualified, the latter as an abſolute cauſe.

† Ariſtot. De cœlo, lib. 1, cap. 10.

ſences

ſences to be ſelf-exiſtent. Concerning theſe doctrines his lordſhip thus harangues in the very ſame page *, Mr. Locke obſerves, how impoſſible 'it is 'for us to conceive certain relations, ha-'bitudes, and connections, viſibly in-'cluded in ſome of our ideas, to be 'ſeparable from them even by infinite 'power. Let us obſerve, on this oc-'caſion, how impoſſible, or, at leaſt, 'how extremely difficult it is for us to 'ſeparate the idea of eternity from cer-'tain moral and mathematical truths, as 'well as from ſuch as are called neceſ-'ſary, and are ſelf-evident on one hand: 'and, on the other, how impoſſible it 'is to conceive that truths ſhould exiſt 'before the things to which they are 'relative; or particular natures and eſ-'ſences, before the ſyſtem of univerſal 'nature, and when there was no being 'but the ſupereſſential Being †.'

* Eſſay, p. 6.

† Eſſay on Human Underſtanding, l. 4. cap. 3. ſect. 29.

If I had any inclination to cavil, I might, with truth, aſſert that no ſuch paſſage is to be found in Mr. Locke. His words are: 'In ſome of our ideas 'there are certain relations, habitudes, 'and connections, ſo viſibly included 'in the nature of the ideas themſelves, 'that we cannot conceive them ſeparable 'from them by any power whatſoever.' It may be anſwered, perhaps, that the violence is done rather to the expreſſion, than to the meaning of this truly great man; but if I ſhould candidly admit that he ſeems, from the immediate context, to mean no leſs (I ſay, ſeems to mean: for, whoever will carefully compare what is ſaid in another part of the ſame book *, of the powers of the mind in forming the archetypes of its complex ideas of mixed modes, may poſſiblythink he ſees ſufficient reaſon for reſolving what is here affirmed of arbitrary (not infinite) power, into the human mind only. I may yet reply, that ſuch a vio-

* Locke's Eſſay, l. 2. cap. 31.

lence

lence even to the expreſſion of ſuch a writer on ſuch a ſubject, is by no means void of blame, nor even of ſuſpicion, when it is left without a reference to conceal itſelf in a large folio, where it will not be eaſily detected by any but thoſe who are pretty familiarly acquainted with the original.

But it is time to cloſe this article, which, I think, ſeems to eſtabliſh contradiction the firſt: for under what other term ſhall we range the arguing *pro* and *con* in the ſame breath: for where is the force of the accuſation, or, as a lawyer would call it, the giſt of the indictment againſt poor Cudworth? Is it not (to uſe my lord's own phraſe) 'the 'laying the foundations of morality 'higher than the exiſtence of any mo-'ral agents?' And what ſays my lord to enforce the charge? Why, truly, he alleges in defence of the accuſed, that it was impoſſible for him to have done otherwiſe, and produces the authority of

of Mr. Locke to confirm this impoſſibility.

The generoſity of this ſudden tranſition from accuſer to advocate would convince all men on which ſide his lordſhip had here delivered his real ſentiments, was it not ſomewhat controled by his having concealed from his readers, that the philoſopher a little afterwards, in the ſame book * hath endeavoured to prove, and, I think, actually hath proved, that there is no abſurdity in what my lord Bolingbroke objects, provided the doctrine be rightly underſtood, ſo as not to eſtabliſh innate principles. That the actual exiſtence of the ſubjects of mathematical or moral ideas is not in the leaſt neceſſary to give us a ſufficient evidence of the neceſſity of thoſe ideas; and that, in the diſputes of the mathematician as well as of the moraliſt, the exiſtence of the ſubject matter is rarely called in queſtion; nor is it more neceſſary to their demonſtrations and conclu-

* Lib. 4. cap. 9.

ſions,

ſions, than it would be to prove the truth of Tully's Offices, to ſhew that there was ſome man who lived up to that idea of perfect goodneſs, of which Tully hath given us a pattern. There is ſomewhat very myſterious in all this; but we have not promiſed to explain contradictions farther than by ſhewing to which ſide his lordſhip's authority ſeems to incline. And ſurely it is better to decide in favour of poſſibility, and to lay the foundations of morality too high, than to give it no foundation at all.

Deſunt cætera.